

JOURNAL

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Malayan Branch

of the

Royal Asiatic Society

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1937.



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Vol. XV.

Part I.

Journal
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

May, 1937.

SINGAPORE :
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The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

Patron :

H. E. Sir Thomas Shenton W. Thomas, G.C.M.G., O.B.E.,
Governor of the Straits Settlements, High Commissioner for the
Malay States, British Agent for Sarawak and North Borneo.

Council for 1937.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. V. Mills, *M.C.S.* *President.*

The Hon'ble Mr. A. S. Small, *C.M.G.*, *M.C.S.* }

Dr. A. L. Hoops, *C.B.E.* ... } *Vice-President for*
the S.S.

Mr. R. E. Holttum ... }

The Hon'ble Mr. S. W. Jones *M.C.S.* ... *Vice-President for*
the F.M.S.

The Hon'ble Engku Abdul Aziz, *D.K.*,
C.M.G. ... }

Vice-President for
the U.M.S.

Mr. M. C. Franck Sheppard, *M.C.S.* ... }

The Hon'ble Capt. N. M. Hashim, *M.L.C.*
I.S.O. ... }

The Rev. Fr. Cardon ... }

The Hon'ble Dato R. St. J. Braddell ... }

Councillors.

Mr. E. J. H. Corner ... }

Mr. T. D. Hughes, *M.C.S.* ... }

Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie ... *Hon. Treasurer.*

Mr. F. N. Chasen ... *Hon. Secretary.*

PROCEEDINGS

of the

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Raffles Museum, Singapore, at 4.45 p.m. on 25th February, 1937.

Mr. R. E. Holttum (Vice-President) in the Chair.

1. The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.
2. The Annual Report and Balance Sheet as submitted by the Council were adopted.
3. The Officers and Council for 1937 were elected.

F. N. CHASEN,

Hon. Secretary.

Annual Report

OF THE

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society

for 1936.

Membership. The membership roll of the Society at the end of the year included 613 names compared with 597 at the end of 1935. The roll consisted of 18 Honorary Members, 4 Corresponding Members and 591 Ordinary Members. Two Honorary Members and two other Members were lost through death and twenty-two Ordinary Members from resignation. The Council regrets to record the death of the well-known American traveller and naturalist, Dr. W. L. Abbott who was elected an Honorary Member in 1923 and the eminent Dutch scholar, Prof. Dr. Snouck-Hurgronje whose election dates from 1921. The following 42 new members were elected during the year:—

Abdullah bin Muhammad Ali
Abdullah bin Ibrahim
Addison, Y. S.
Aikin, The Rev. J. Hamilton
Anderson, W. G.
Bailey, L. C.
Barron, G. D.
Bingham, R. P.
Braga, A. J.
Braine, Dr. G. I. H.
Chew Tian Seng
Clark-Walker, A. McG.
Coldham, J. C.
Cole, W.
Cooper, E. C.
Douglas, F. W.
Evans, Dr. L. W.
Gibson, L. B.
Harpur, W. A.
Headly, D.
Hughes-Hallett, H.
Jackson, W. B.
Johnson, H. C.

Librarian, The, The University,
Triplicane, Madras, India.
Lim, C. O.
Lyle, C. W.
Machado, G. A.
Macpherson, J. S.
Mahmud bin Tengku Haji Yusuf,
Tengku
McElwaine, The Hon'ble the Chief
Justice Mr. P. A.
McPherson, Dr. D. R.
Meikle, R. H.
Middlebrook, S. M.
Mohamed Jaffar bin Mantu
Ross, A. N.
Rouse, J.
Sanderson, J.
Smith, G. A.
Smith, A. St. Alban
Thornett, B. R.
Wright, Miss Esther Fowler
Wynne, A. J.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held in the Raffles Museum on 27th February. Its proceedings were purely of a formal character.

Journals. The journal for the year consisted of three parts, including 800 pages, 37 plates and a number of maps, charts and line blocks. This is an exceptionally heavy publication programme for any one year.

The first part was devoted to a translation by Mr. MacHacopian of "The Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640-1641" being extracts from the archives of the Dutch East India Company by P. A. Loupe originally published in the "Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht," 1859. The second part was Mr. W. Linehan's "A History of Pahang" and the third part was a large miscellaneous number composed of twenty-seven articles by nineteen authors on such varied subjects as history, linguistics, ethnography, archaeology, numismatics, folklore and botany.

Finance. Thanks to the continued generosity of the four Malayan Governments who have contributed to the support of the Society for the last two years and an additional annual contribution of fifty dollars which the Government of Kedah has now kindly decided to make, the financial position of the Society remains satisfactory.

Owing to the absence of the Hon. Treasurer on furlough from April to November, the Society was dependent for the performance of his office on voluntary assistance from members and Messrs. T. D. Hughes, M.C.S. and M. V. del Tufo, M.C.S., acted as Treasurers for several months.

The expenses for the publication of Vol. XIII, Pt. 3, published in 1935 were met from funds in 1936, but as Vol. XIV, Pt. 3 will not be published until early in 1937 printing bills were incurred for only the usual three journals.

The subscriptions during the year amounted to \$2,384.49, the highest sum recorded since 1930.

A sum of \$2,000 was invested in 3% S.S. loan, of which a balance of \$800 is to be paid in 1937.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary.

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
Cash.		Printing.	
Balance at Mercantile Bank, 1st January, 1936	\$3,936.89	Journal Vol. 13, pt. 3 ..	\$ 655.50
Petty Cash in hand, 1st January, 1936	18.19	" " 14, pt. 1 ..	1,063.75
		" " 14, pt. 2 ..	1,518.00
		Illustrations (Blocks and Plates) ..	196.91
		Annual Reports and Labels ..	30.00
			\$3,464.16
Subscriptions.		Miscellaneous.	
For the year 1934 ..	\$ 12.00	Stationery	\$ 14.60
" " 1935 ..	133.00	Postages and other expenses ..	329.95
" " 1936 ..	1,930.11	Salaries	600.00
" " 1937 ..	172.38	Cheque Commissions, stamps on cheques and purchase of cheque book	19.46
" " 1938 ..	12.00	Purchase of one Steel Stationery Cupboard	112.50
" " 1939-42 ..	22.00		
For Life-membership ..	103.00		
			1,076.51
Sales of Journals ..	2,384.49	Investment.	
	1,584.94	Purchase of S.S. Loan	1,200.00
Contributions.		Cash.	
Kedah Government ..	\$ 50.00	Petty Cash in hand, 31st December, 1936	\$ 50.00
Kelantan Government ..	50.00	Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1936	3,835.89
Johore Government ..	250.00		
F.M.S. Government ..	500.00		
S.S. Government ..	500.00		
			3,885.89
Interest.			
On Investments ..	\$ 306.00		
On Current Account ..	46.05		
	352.05		
	\$9,626.56		

M. W. F. TWEEDIE,
Hon. Treasurer, M.B.R.A.S.

RULES
of
The Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'
2. The objects of the Society shall be :—
 - (a) The increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.
 - (b) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.
 - (c) the acquisition of books, maps and manuscripts.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary..
4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.
5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of \$6 *payable in advance on the first of January in each year.*

No member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until his subscription for the current year has been paid.

Newly elected members shall be allowed to compound for life-membership for \$100 ; other members may compound by paying \$50, or \$100 less the amount already paid by them as ordinary members in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions are eligible for ordinary membership.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid.

Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership*.

7. Distinguished persons, and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary Members by a majority at a General meeting. Corresponding Members may, on the recommendation of two members of the Council, be elected by a majority of the Council, in recognition of services rendered to any scientific institution in British Malaya. They shall pay no subscription; they shall enjoy the privileges of members (except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office) and free receipt of the Society's publications.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be:—

A President.

Vice-Presidents not exceeding six, ordinarily two each from (i) the Straits Settlements, (ii) the Federated Malay States and (iii) the Unfederated or other Protected States, although this allocation shall in no way be binding on the electors.

An Honorary Treasurer.

An Honorary Secretary.

Five Councillors.

An Assistant Honorary Secretary.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be:—

(a) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

(b) to elect Ordinary and Corresponding Members and to recommend candidates for election as Honorary Members of the Society.

(c) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.

*Bye-Law 1922. "Under Rule 6 Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership until their subscriptions are paid. The issue of Journals published during that period of suspension cannot be guaranteed to members who have been so suspended.

(d) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

(e) to select and purchase books, maps and manuscripts for the Library.

(f) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

(g) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

(b) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such bye-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a quarter and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number of each volume shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and the Rules:

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

Affiliation Privileges of Members.

Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W., where it has a large library and collection of MSS. relating to oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled when on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-Resident Members and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of the Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in Great Britain or Ireland to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Society so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental Research, of original articles, short notes, etc., on matters connected with the languages, archæology, history, beliefs and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the aforementioned Rule 105 all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/- per annum. They receive the quarterly journal post free.

Asiatic Society of Bengal. Members of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by a letter received in 1903, are accorded the privilege of admission to the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which are held usually at the Society's house, 1 Park Street, Calcutta.

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR 1937.

(As on 1st January, 1937).

*Life Members.

Year of
Election.

Patron.

1935. Thomas, H.E. Sir Thomas Shenton W., G.C.M.G., O.B.E.

Honorary Members.

- 1890, 1918. Blagden, Dr. C. O., 40, Wychwood Avenue, Whitchurch Lane, Edgware (Middlesex).
 1935. Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., c/o Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland.
 1921. Brandstetter, Prof. Dr. R., Luzern, Switzerland.
 1935. Callenfels, Dr. P. V. van Stein, O.B.E.
 1930. Clifford, Sir Hugh, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., 53, Evelyn Gardens, London, S.W. 7.
 1935. Coedes, Prof. Dr. George, Directeur de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China.
 1930. Crosby, Sir Josiah, K.B.E., c/o H. B. M. Ministry, Bangkok, Siam.
 1935. Ferrand, Ancien-Ministre G., Rue Racine, Paris, France.
 1903, 1917. Galloway, Sir D. J., Johore Bahru, Johore, (Vice-Pres., 1906-7; Pres., 1908-13).
 1895, 1920. Hanitsch, Dr. R., M.A., 99, Woodstock Road, Oxford, England. (Council, 1897-1919; Hon. Tr., 1898-1906, 1910-11, 1914-19; Hon. Sec., 1912-13).
 1922. Johore, H. H. The Sultan of, D.K., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., Johore.
 1900, 1932. Kloss, C. Boden, c/o Royal Societies Club, St. James Street, London, S.W. 1. (Coun., 1904-8, 1923, 1927-8; Vice-Pres., 1920-1, 1927; Hon. Sec., 1923-6; Pres., 1930).
 1935. Krom, Dr. N. J., 18, Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland.
 1903, 1927. Maxwell, Sir W. G. K.B.E., C.M.G., Sunning Wood, Boars Hill, Oxford, England. (Coun., 1905, 1915; Vice-Pres., 1911-12, 1916, 1918, 1920; 1919, 1922-3, 1925-6).
 1921. Perak, H. H. The Sultan of, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Istana Negara, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
 1890, 1912. Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7, Cumberland Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey, England. (Coun., 1890-4, 1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-3, 1896-1911).
 1916. Sarawak, H. H. The Rajah of, G.C.M.G., Kuching, Sarawak.
 1894, 1921. Shellabear, Rev. Dr. W. G., 185, Girard Avenue, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. (Coun., 1896-1901, 1904; Vice-Pres., 1913; Pres., 1914-18).

1921. Van Ronkel, Dr. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 44,
Leiden, Holland.
- 1904, 1935. Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G., D. Litt., 95,
Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2. (Vice-Pres.,
1914-15, 1920-1, 1923-5, 1928; Pres., 1927,
1929, 1933-5).

Corresponding Members.

1935. Hamilton, A. W., c/o Barclay's Bank, Nairobi, Kenya.
1920. Laidlaw, Dr. F. F., M.A., Eastfield, Uffculme, Devon,
England.
1920. Merrill, Dr. E. D., Gray Herbarium, Cambridge, Mass.,
U.S.A.

Ordinary Members.

- *1921. Abdul Aziz, Hon. Engku, D.K., C.M.G., Johore Bahru,
Johore. (Vice-Pres., 1933-7).
1935. Abdul Aziz bin Khamis, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.
1932. Abdul Hadi bin Haji Hassan, 572A, Tranquerah, Malacca.
1932. Abdul Hamid bin Engku Abdul Majid, Hon. Engku,
c/o The State Secretariat, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1926. Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, District Office,
Batang Padang, Perak.
1933. Abdul Rahman bin Mat, Ag. Asst. District Officer,
Lenggong, Upper Perak.
- *1926. Abdul Rahman bin Yassin, Dato, 3, Jalan Chat, Johore
Bahru Johore.
1936. Abdullah bin Ibrahim, Deputy Asst. District Officer,
Bentong, Pahang.
1936. Abdullah bin Muhammad Ali, Sultan Idris Training
College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.
1935. Abdullah bin Noordin, c/o Land Office, Kuala Kangsar,
Perak.
1923. Abdullah bin Yahya, Hon. Capt. Sheikh, S.M.J.,
P.I.S.R., Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
- *1907. Adams, Sir A., K.B.E., Rockleigh, Swanage, Dorset,
England. (Vice-Pres., 1910, 1917-19).
- *1909. Adams, T. S., C.M.G., Chief Commissioner, Nigeria.
1936. Addison, J. S., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
- *1919. Adelborg, F., Sweden.
1926. Adviser on Forestry, the Malay States, Kepong, Selangor.
1935. Ahmad bin Haji Tahir, Asst. Commissioner of Police,
Muar, Johore.
1934. Ahmad bin Sheikh Mustapha, Sheikh, Seremban, Negri
Sembilan.
1926. Ahmad bin Osman, District Office, Port Dickson, Negri
Sembilan.
1935. Ahmad Zainul'abidin, Tengku, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1936. Aikin, Rev. J. Hamilton, the Manse, Golf Club Road,
Ipoh, Perak.

1935. Akademija Nauk, U.S.S.R., Biblioteka Akademii Nauk, Birgewaja Linija, 1. Leningrad, U.S.S.R.
1927. Allen, B. W., Police Depot, Singapore.
1935. Amstutz, The Rev. H. B., 48, Canning Rise, Singapore.
1936. Anderson, W. Graeme, Tanjong Batu Estate, Manek Urai, Kelantan.
1933. Annamalai University Library, Annamalaiagar, Chidambaram, S. India.
1934. Archer, The Rev. Raymond L., Ph.D., Methodist Mission, Singapore.
1926. Ariff, Dr. K. M., 47, Leith Street, Penang.
1926. Atkin-Berry, H. C., Swan and Maclaren, Singapore.
- *1908. Ayre, C. F. C., c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.
1933. Azman bin Abdul Hamid, Govt. English School, Muar, Johore.
- *1926. Bagnall, The Hon. Sir John, c/o The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1919. Bailey, A. E., "Keecha", Park Road, Leamington Spa, England.
- *1926. Bailey, John, c/o British Legation, Bangkok, Siam.
1936. Bailey, L. C., Rengam Estate, Rengam, Johore.
1915. Bain, Norman, K.
1926. Bain, V. L., District Forest Office, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1912. Baker, The Hon. Mr. A. C., British Adviser, Kelantan. (Council, 1928; Vice-Pres., 1931).
1932. Baker, James A., c/o Dept. of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
1935. Baker, V. B. C., c/o Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd., Sungai Lembing, Pahang.
1935. Bangs, T. W. T., Kuala Pergau Estate, Ulu Kelantan.
- *1899. Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.
1920. Barbour, Dr. T., Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1932. Barrett, E. C. G., Sanitary Board, Larut, Perak.
1936. Barron, G. D., Superintendent of Surveys, Malacca.
1914. Bazell, C., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak. (Hon. Libr., 1916-20; Hon. Treasurer, 1921-2).
1925. Bee, R. J., Public Works Dept., Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
- *1910. Berkeley, Capt. H., I.S.O., Clink Gate, Droitwich, England.
1927. Best, G. A., 8, Sycamore Road, Bournville, Birmingham.
- *1912. Bicknell, J. W., Bykenhulle Hopewell Junction, Dutchess County, New York, U.S.A.
1884. Bicknell, W. A., 2, Phillips Avenue, Exmouth, Devon, England.
1936. Bingham, R. P., Chinese Secretariat, Singapore.
1931. Birse, A. L., District Officer, Larut, Perak.
1926. Birtwistle, W., c/o Dept. of Fisheries, Singapore.
- *1908. Bishop, Major C. F.
1935. Bishop, H., A.M.I.S.E., M.A.A.E., Public Works Dept., Jesselton, British North Borneo.

- *1923. Black, J. G., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
- 1884. Bland, R. N., C.M.G., 25, Earl's Court Square, London, S.W.5. (Counc., 1898-1900; Vice-Pres., 1907-9).
- 1921. Blasdell, Rev. R. A., Methodist Mission, Malacca.
- 1925. Blythe, W. L., President, Municipal Commissioners, Penang.
- 1935. Boey Kong Yan, Chinese Secretariat, Singapore.
- 1933. Booth, I. C., c/o Surveyor General's Office, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1926. Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Dept., Taiping, Perak.
- *1919. Bourne, F. G., Little Dawbourne, St. Michaels, Tenterden, Kent, England.
- 1921. Boyd, R., Director of Co-operation, F.M.S. and S.S., Kuala Lumpur.
- 1928. Boyd, T. Stirling, Chief Justice of Sarawak, Kuching, Sarawak.
- *1919. Boyd, W. R., District Office, Kinta, Perak
- 1913. Braddell, The Hon. Dato R. St. J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Singapore. (Coun. 1936-7).
- 1936. Braga, A. J., 8, Broadrick Road, Singapore.
- 1936. Braine, Dr. G. I. H., Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu.
- 1932. Brant, R. V., Kukub, Johore.
- 1935. Brooke, A. W. D., District Office, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.
- 1915. Brown, The Hon. Mr. C. C., The Residency, Kuala Lipis, Pahang. (Vice-Pres., 1925, 1932-6).
- 1933. Browne, F. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor.
- *1913. Bryan, J. M., Borneo Co., Ltd., 28, Fenchurch Street, London.
- 1887. Bryant, A. T., 101, Seymore Place, Bryanston Sq. London, W.1. (Council, 1907-10; Vice-Pres., 1912, 1914-16).
- 1932. Bryson, H. P., Alor Star, Kedah.
- 1926. Buckle, Miss D. M., Raffles Girl's School, Singapore.
- *1926. Burton, W., 1, Court Lane Gardens, Dulwich, England.
- 1934. Busfield, H. H., 4, Laidlaw Building, Singapore.
- *1921. Butterfield, H. M., Kedah Peak, Excelsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, England.
- *1913. Caldecott, H.E. Sir Andrew, Kt. Bach., C.M.G., C.B.E. The Government House, Colombo, Ceylon. (Vice-Pres., 1931-2, 1934-5).
- 1932. Calder, J., Negri Sembilan.
- 1926. Cardon, The Rev. Fr. R., Church of the Sacred Heart, Al, Oxley Rise, Singapore. (Council, 1934-7).
- 1925. Carey, H. R., High School, Klang, Selangor
- *1921. Cavendish, A.
- 1921. Chasen, F. N., Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Council, 1925; Hon. Sec., 1927-37).
- *1924. Cheeseman, H. R., Education Office, Singapore.
- 1936. Chew Lian Seng, 17, North Canal Road, Singapore.
- *1913. Choo Kia Peng, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1927. Clark, B. F., Pontianak, Dutch West Borneo.

1936. Clark-Walker, A. McG., Survey Dept., Batu Pahat, Johore.
- *1926. Clarke, G. C., "Tilton", 14, Gallop Road, Singapore.
- *1911. Clayton, T. W.
1929. Cobden-Ramsay, A. B., Official Assignee and Registrar of Company, F.M.S.
1922. Coe, Capt. T. P., Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs Malaya.
1936. Coldham, J. C., Raub Australian Gold Mine, Raub, Pahang.
1936. Cole, W., Pekan, Pahang.
- *1920. Collenette, C. L., 107, Church Road, Richmond, England.
1926. Collins, G. E. P., c/o Nederlandsch Indische Handelsbank, Makassar, Celebes., N.E.I.
1926. Commandant, The, The Police Depot, Kuala Lumpur.
1935. Coolhas, W. Ph., Tosariweg, 43, Batavia Centrum, Java.
1926. Coope, A. E., 9, Netherhale Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.3. (Coun. 1936).
1936. Cooper, E. C., Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Malacca.
1929. Corner, E. J. H., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council 1934-7).
1925. Corry, W. C. S., c/o Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.
1921. Coulson, N., Asst. Treasurer, Penang.
1921. Cowap, J. C., Springfield, Lower Pennington Lane, Lymington, Hants, England.
- *1923. Cowgill, The Hon. Mr. J. V., The Residency, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
- *1921. Cullen, W. G., Bartolome Mitre, 559, Buenos Aires, S. America.
1925. Cullin, E. G., Muar, Johore.
1927. Cumming, C. E., Floral Villa, Lahat Road, Ipoh, Perak.
1923. Curtis, R. J. F., Collector of Land Revenue, Penang.
- *1910. Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Irish Free State.
- *1918. David, P. A. F., c/o Sports Club, London.
1928. Davidson, W. W., Alor Star, Kedah.
1927. Davies, E. R., The High School, Klang, Selangor.
- *1927. Dawson, C. W., District Judge, Penang.
1923. Day, E. V. G., Land Office, Malacca.
1930. De Vos, A. E. E., P.O. Box 13, Taiping, Perak.
- *1926. del Tufo, M. V., Attorney-General's Office, Singapore.
1922. Denny, A., Sungai Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor.
1934. Devonshire, G. E., Police Headquarters, Kajang, Selangor.
1929. Dickinson, Mrs. W. J., Bandoeng, Java.
1897. Dickson, E. A., 118, Dunkeld Road, Bournemouth, England.
- *1921. Dickson, Rev. P. L., Western House, The Park, Nottingham, England.
- *1926. Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1930. Donlevy, J., c/o S. Way Dredging, S. Way Selangor.
- *1923. Doscas, A. E. Coleman, Dept. of Agriculture, Johore Bahru, Johore.

1936. Douglas, Dato F. W., Private Secretary to H.H. the Sultan of Selangor, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Duff, Dr. W. R., Taiping, Perak.
- *1915. Dussek, O. T., Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.
1934. Dyer, Prof. W. E., Raffles College, Singapore.
1931. Earle, L. R. F., Asst. Adviser, Kluang, Johore.
- *1922. Ebdon, The Hon. Mr. W. S., Commissioner of Lands, S.S.
1922. Eckhardt, H. C., Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1922. Edgar, A. T., Suffolk Estate, Sitiawan, Perak.
1934. Edmonds, A., J.P., C.H., Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1927. Education Dept., The, Alor Star, Kedah.
1885. Egerton, Sir Walter, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow, Mayfield, Sussex, England.
1921. Elder, Dr. E. A., The British Dispensary, Singapore.
1932. English School Union, The, Muar, Johore.
1913. Ermen, C. E. A., St. Christopher, Combe Down, Bath, Somerset, England.
- *1923. Eu Tong Sen, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.
1924. Evans, I. H. N., Broadview Road, Oulton Broad, Suffolk, England. (Vice-Pres., 1926-7; 1928-30).
1936. Evans, Dr. L. W., General Hospital, Singapore.
1927. Farrelly, G. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
1909. Farrer, R. J., C.M.G., Kota Bahru, Kelantan. (Coun., 1925-7).
- *1911. Ferguson-Davie, Rt. Rev. C. J., (Council, 1912-13).
1917. Finlayson, Dr. G. A., "Changi", West Moors, Dorest, England.
- *1919. Finnie, W., 73, Forest Road, Aberdeen, Scotland.
1925. Fitzgerald, Hon. Dr. R. D., M.C., The Director of Health and Medical Services, Singapore.
- *1897. Flower, Major S. S., Old House, Park Road, Tring, Herts., England.
1928. Foenander, E. C., Forest Office, Mentakab, Pahang.
1923. Forest Botanist, The, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U. P. India.
1921. Forrer, H. A., Police Cout, Singapore.
- *1918. Foxworthy, Dr. F. W., 762, Arlington Avenue, Berkeley, California, U.S.A. (Council, 1923; 1926-7).
1935. Francois, Rev. Fr. J. P., Les Echelles, Savoie, France.
- *1908. Freeman, D., 96, Priory Road, West Hampstead, London, N.W.6.
- *1910. Frost, Meadows.
- *1912. Gallagher, W. J., 72, Courtfield Gardens, London, S.W.5.
1931. Gardiner, E. A., Public Works Department, Johore Bahru.
1932. Gardner, G. B., c/o Midland Bank, Pall Mall, London, W.2.
1923. Gater, Prof. B. A. R., College of Medicine, Singapore.
1934. Gates, R. C., Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.
1928. Geake, F. H., c/o Govt. Analyst's Office, Singapore.
1920. Geale, Dr. W. J., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.

- *1926. George, J. R.
- 1936. Gibson, L. B., Solicitor-General, Singapore.
- 1923. Gilmour, A., c/o. Colonial Secretary, Singapore.
- *1922. Glass, Dr. G. S., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Whitehall, London, S.W.1.
- 1922. Gordon, T. I. M., 3, Laidlaw Court, 53, Silverdale Road, Eastbourne, Sussex, England.
- 1920. Gordon-Hall, Capt. W. A., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- 1926. Goss, P. H., Kulim, Kedah.
- 1929. Gray, G. L., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- 1926. Greene, R. T. B., Institute for Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1929. Gregg, J. F. F., District Office, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
- 1931. Gregory, C. P. Kerilla Estate, Kelantan.
- 1926. Grice, N., Protector of Chinese, Selangor and Pahang, F.M.S.
- 1922. Gubbins, W. H. W., c/o Mansergh and Tayler, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- 1935. Gunji, K., Japanese Consulate, Singapore.
- 1916. Gupta, Shri Shivaprasad, Seva Upavana, Kashi (Benares) India.
- *1923. Hacker, Dr. H. P., Zoological Dept., University College, London, W.C.1.
- 1934. Haden, R. A., c/o American Embassy, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- 1923. Haines, Major O. B., S. O. S. Estate, Selama, Perak.
- 1934. Hamaruddin bin Wan Abdul Jalil, Wan, A. D. O. Selama, Perak.
- 1924. Hamzah bin Abdullah, Kuala Kubu Bahru, F.M.S.
- 1933. Hannay, H. C., P.O. Box 64, Ipoh, Perak.
- 1936. Harpur, W. A., c/o Straits Times, Singapore.
- 1921. Hashim, The Hon'ble N.M., M.L.C., I.S.O., (14, St. Michaels Road, Singapore. (Council 1937)).
- *1926. Hastings, W. G. W., 56, Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1925. Hay, A. W., Asst. Protector of Chinese, Malacca.
- 1919. Hay, M. C., Controller of Rubber, Malaya.
- *1904. Haynes, A. S., C.M.G., Pebworth Manor, Stratford-on-Avon, England. (Council, 1920).
- 1932. Hayward, M. J., Magistrate, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
- 1936. Headley, D., Muar, Johore.
- 1930. Heath, R. G., Agricultural Dept., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- 1921. Henderson, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Coun. 1928; Hon. Tr., 1928-34).
- *1923. Hicks, E. C., c/o Education Office, Pahang.
- 1922. Hill, W. C., Singapore Oil Mills, Ltd., Havelock Road, Singapore.
- 1927. His Majesty's Stationery Office, Princes Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
- *1923. Hodgson, D. H., Forest Dept., Seremban.
- 1921. Holgate, M. R., Education Office, Malacca.
- 1926. Holl, E. S., Kuching, Sarawak.

1922. Holttum, R. E., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Hon. Tr., 1923-6, 1928; Vice-Pres., 1929 and 1936; Coun. 1933; Vice-Pres., 1937.)
1933. Hoogkaas, Dr. C., Klitren Lor 48, Djogjakarta, Java.
- *1921. Hoops, Dr. A. L., C.B.E., Malacca. (Vice-Pres., 1930; Coun., 1933-4); Vice-Pres., 1936-7).
1897. Hose, E. S., C.M.G., The Manor House, Normandy, Guildford, England. (Vice-Pres., 1923, 1925; Pres. 1924).
1935. Ho Seng Ong, Anglo Chinese School, Malacca.
1922. Huggins, Capt. J., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1932. Hughes, T. D., District Judge, Malacca. Hon. Treasurer 1936; Council 1937).
1936. Hughes-Hallett, H., Asst. Resident, Brunei.
1935. Humphrey, A. H. P., Private Secretary, Government House.
1922. Hunt, Capt. H. North, Registrar General, Singapore.
1921. Hunter, Dr. P. S., Municipal Offices, Singapore.
1923. Idris bin Ibrahim, Wan, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1934. Idris bin Haji Muhammad Nor, District Office, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
- *1926. Ince, H. M., c/o The Secretariat, Sandakan, British North Brunei.
1930. Ince, R. E., 20, Carlton Road, Romford, Essex.
1922. Irvine, Capt. R., District Office, Klang, Selangor.
- *1921. Ivery, F. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
1934. Jaal bin Jaman, Lenggong, Upper Perak.
1936. Jackson, W. B., J.P., Christmas Island, S.S.
1927. Jamieson, M., c/o The Government Analyst, Singapore.
- *1921. Jermyn, L. A. S., c/o Education Office, Malacca.
1932. Joachim, E. J., Kapoewas Rubber Estate, Soengei Dekan, Pontianak, Borneo.
1936. Johnson, Harold C., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1910. Johnson, B. G. H., Crossways, Littlehampton, Sussex, England.
- *1918. Jones, E. P.
- *1913. Jones, The Hon. Mr. S. W., The British Resident Selangor, (Vice-President for the F.M.S. 1937).
- *1919. Jordan, The Hon. Mr. A. B., Secretary for Chinese Affairs Malaya.
1932. Joynt, H. R.
1921. Kassim bin Sultan Abdul Hamid Halimshah, H.H. Tengku, Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1921. Kay-Mouat, Prof. J. R., College of Medicine, Singapore.
1926. Keith, H. G., Forest Dept., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- *1921. Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P.O., Chegar Perah, Pahang.
1913. Kempe, J. E.
- *1920. Ker, W. P. W. c/o Paterson Simons & Co., Ltd., London House, Crutched Friars, London, E.C.3.

- *1920. Kerr, Dr. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, England.
- 1926. Khoo Sian Ewe, The Hon'ble Mr., 24, Light Street, Penang.
- 1921. Kidd, G. M., Chaiman, Sanitary Board, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1926. Kingsbury, Dr. A. N., Medical Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1931. Kirkwood, T. M., Croftinloan Pitlochay, Perthshire Scotland.
- 1921. Kitching, T., Superintendent of Surveys, Kulim, Kedah.
- 1935. Lai Tet Loke, The Hon. Mr., 121, Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1914. Lambourne, J., Central Experimental Station, Serdang, Sungei Besi P.O.
- 1935. Lancaster, G. C., One Tree Corner, Guildford, Surrey, England.
- 1929. Langlade, Baron, F. de.
- 1927. Laycock, J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Raffles Place, Singapore.
- *1923. Lease, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, England.
- *1921. Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan.
- 1932. Lee Chim Tuan, Mandalay Villa, Tanjong Katong, Singapore.
- *1922. Leggett, J., "Troggett's", Wallis Wood, Ockley, Surrey, England.
- *1913. Leicester, Dr. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang.
- 1920. Lendrick, J., 30, Norre Alle, Aarhus, Denmark.
- 1935. Lennox, W. W. M., Kuala Trengganu.
- *1925. Leonard, R. W. F. c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Penang.
- 1926. Leuthold, W. H., Hooglandt & Co., Singapore.
- 1890. Lewis, J. E. A., Oji Cho., 1, Chome 698, Nadaku, Kobe, Japan.
- 1927. Leyh, S. G. H., O.B.E., c/o Govt. Monopolies, Singapore.
- 1922. Leyne, E. G., Sungai Purun Estate, Seminyih, Selangor.
- 1936. Librarian, University, Triplicane, Madras, India.
- 1925. Linehan, W., (Vice-Pres., 1933-6).
- 1936. Lim, C. O., Bankruptcy Office, Penang.
- 1934. Lloyd, Capt. H. S. J., Customs and Excise Dept., Taiping, Perak.
- 1934. Lloyd, W., Ulu Tiram Estate, Johore Bahru, Johore.
- 1928. Loch, C. W., Central European Mines, Ltd., Mezica, Dravska Banovina, Jugoslavija.
- 1918. Loh Kong Imm, 12, Kia Peng Road, Kuala Lumpur.
- 1935. Lo Liang-Chu, Dr., Ph.D., c/o Anhui Educational Dept., China.
- 1930. London, G. E., C.M.G., The Secretariat, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
- 1933. Lopez, A. G., "Casynest", 24, Goal Road, Seremban Negri Sembilan.
- 1930. Luckman, H. A. L., Penang.
- 1936. Lyle, C. W.

- *1907. Lyons, Rev. E. S., 150, Fifth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.
- *1920. MacBryan, G. T. M., 1, Woodstock House, 11, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
- *1933. Macdonald, P. J. W., Petodjo Oedik, 44, Batavia, Java.
- 1929. Mace, N., Simanggang, Sarawak.
- 1932. MacDonnell McMullin, C. A., c/o Martin's Bank Ltd., Victoria Road, Wallasey, Cheshire, England.
- *1910. MacFadyen, E., c/o Sports Club, London.
- 1934. MacHacopian, 26A, Orchard Road, Singapore.
- 1936. Macpherson, J. S., Khota Bahru, Kelantan.
- 1935. MacTier, R. S., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- 1935. McDonald, C. M., Kuala Lumpur.
- 1935. McLeod, D. S., c/o Bakau and Kenya Extract Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- 1936. McElwaine, The Hon. The Chief Justice Mr. P. A., Goodwood House, Singapore.
- 1936. McPherson, Dr. D. R., General Hospital, Singapore.
- 1936. Machado, G. A., 44, Wilkinson Road, Singapore.
- 1930. Madden, L. J. B., Taiping, Perak.
- 1936. Mahmud bin Tengku Haji Yusuf, Tengku, Education Office, Khota Bahru, Kelantan.
- 1929. Mahmud bin Jintan, The Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
- 1924. Mahmud bin Mat, Commissioner of Land, and Mines, Kangar, Perlis.
- 1936. Mahmud bin Tengku Haji Yusuf, Tengku, Education Office, Pahang.
- 1903. Makepeace, W., 79, Henleaze Road, Westbury on Trym, Bristol, England. (Coun., 1914, 1916, 1920; Hon. Libr., 1909-12; Vice-Pres., 1917; Hon. Sec., 1918-19).
- 1932. Malacca Historical Society, The, Malacca.
- 1926. Malay College, The, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
- 1935. Mallal, B.A., 24, Raffles Place, Singapore.
- 1927. Malleson, B. K., Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai, Perak.
- 1927. Mann, W. E., c/o Burt Myrtle & Co., Batavia, Java.
- 1929. Marjoribanks, Dr. E. M., Kuching, Sarawak.
- *1907. Marriner, J. T.
- 1934. Martin, J. M., Colonial Office, London.
- *1925. Martin, W. M. E.
- 1921. Mather, N. F. H., Johore Bahru, Johore.
- 1921. Maxwell, C. N., Maryland Estate, Lumut, Perak.
- 1922. May, P. W., 6, Queen Anne's Gardens, Bedford Park, London, W.4.
- 1928. Mee, B. S., Forest Dept., Kuala Lumpur.
- 1927. Megat Yunus bin Megat Mohamed Isa, District Office, Temerloh., Pahang.
- 1936. Meikle, R. H., Jeram Pahang, Bahau, Negri Sembilan.
- 1935. Merrick, C. M., 112, Clifton Court, St. Johns Wood, London, N.W.8.
- 1928. Meyer, L. D., Taiping, Perak.
- 1936. Middlebrook, S. M., Protector of Chinese, Johore.
- *1926. Miles, C. V., Rodyk and Davidson, Singapore.

1925. Miller, G. S., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1921. Miller, J. I., District Officer, Teluk Anson, Perak.
1932. Miller, N. C. E., Dept., of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
1925. Mills, G. R., c/o Incorporated Society of Planters, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Mills, J. V., 18, Harward House, Manor Fields Estate, Putney Hill, London, S.W.15. (Coun., 1919-30, 1932-3; 1936; President 1937.
1933. Milne, Mrs. C. E. Lumsden, Govt. English School, Muar, Johore
1922. Mohamed Idid bin Ali Idid, The Hon'ble Tuan Sayid, Alor Star, Kedah.
1934. Mohamed Ismail bin Abdul Latiff, District Office, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1922. Mohamd Ismail Merican, Superintendent of Education, Alor Star, Kedah.
1936. Mohamed Jaffar bin Mantu, The High School, Klang, Selangor.
1922. Mohamed Said, Major Dato Haji, Bukit Timbalan, Johore.
1933. Mohamed Said bin Mohamed, Dr., General Hospital, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, Dato, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1921. Mohamed Sheriff bin Osman, the Hon'ble Che', Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1926. Morice, J., c/o Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1920. Morkill, A. G., c/o Victoria League, Cromwell Road, London.
1926. Mumford, E. W., Railway Police, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1915. Mundell, H. D., c/o Sisson and Delay, Singapore.
1930. Murdoch, Dr. J. W., Mental Hospital, Tanjong Rambutan Perak.
1934. Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, Tengku, Supreme Court, Kuala Lumpur.
1932. Newbold, The Hon. Mr. E., c/o Chartered Bank Chambers, Penang.
1934. Nightingale, H. W., Asst. Controller of Labour, Negri Sembilan and Malacca.
1933. Nik Ahmad Kamil bin Haji Nik Mahmud, Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
1932. Nalli, Cav. R., 47, Scotts Road, Singapore.
1916. Ong Boon Tat J.P., 51, Robinson Road, Singapore.
1935. Oppenheim, H. R., Peat, Mariwick Mitchell & Co., Hongkong Bank Buildings, Ipoh, Perak.
1921. Orchard, H. A. L., Chinese Free School, Cecil Street, Singapore.
1935. Osman bin Haji Dahat, Supreme Court, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1931. Osman bin Taat, District Office, Kroh, Upper Perak.
1934. Osman bin Ujang, Klang Selangor.
1920. O'Sullivan, T. A., Inspector of Schools, Taiping, Perak.
1913. Overbeck, H., Klitren Lor 48, Djokjakata, Java.

1925. Owen, A. I., c/o Post Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
 1929. Pagden, H. T., c/o The Director of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
 1919. Park, Mungo, P.O. Delivery, 19, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1908. Parr, C. W. C., C.M.G., O.B.E., Parrisees Hayne, Howley, nr. Chard, Somerset, England. (Vice-Pres., 1919).
 1922. Pasqual, J. C., Jitra, Kedah.
 *1921. Paterson, Major H. S., Penang.
 1933. Pearson, C. D., Survey Office, Pontian Kechil, Johore.
 1928. Pease, R. L., Telok Pelandok Estate, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
 1934. Peel, J., c/o The Treasury, Taiping, Perak.
 1931. Peet, G. L., c/o The Straits Times, Singapore.
 1928. Penang Free School, Green Lane, Penang.
 1926. Penang Library, The, Penang.
 *1921. Pendlebury, H. M., Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1926. Pengilley, E. E., District Office, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.
 *1925. Penrice, W., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
 1914. Pepys, The Hon. Mr. W. E., The General Adviser, Johore.
 *1920. Peskett, A. D., c/o Barclay's Bank, Uckfield, Sussex, England.
 1935. Pilkinston, Hugh P., Atherton Estate, Siliau, Negri Sembilan.
 *1921. Plummer, W. P.
 1928. Powell, I. B., Lanfihangel, Talylllyn, Breconshire, Wales.
 1932. Pretty, E. E. F., Under Secretary to Government, Kuala Lumpur.
 1935. Purcell, Dr. V. W. W. S., Protector of Chinese, Penang.
 1926. Purdom, Miss N., Education Office, Malacca.
 1926. Rae, Cecil, Ipoh, Perak.
 1934. Raffles College, Singapore.
 1934. Raja Hitam bin Raja Yunus, District Office, Jelebu, Negri Sembilan.
 1924. Raja Muda of Perak, Telok Anson, Perak.
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MALAY FAMILY LAW.

An essay on the law and custom relating to the distribution
of property on dissolution of marriage among peninsular Malays,
with illustrative cases.

BY

E. N. TAYLOR, M.C.S.
of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law.

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MALAY FAMILY LAW.

INTRODUCTION.

Notumque furens quid femina possit.

Aeneid V6.

Since the marriage relation is the most intimate of all human confidences it is only natural that the destruction of that confidence should give rise to the bitterest of quarrels. Except in a few extreme cases, however, even the unhappiest of spouses instinctively revolt against an open discussion of the breach of the matrimonial relation itself; the dispute tends to become focussed on the problem of dividing the property of the married pair and so, when a Malay wife has been ousted from the land which she has helped to cultivate, no small difficulty awaits the Magistrate. Fundamentally the problem is a sociological one but its real nature has been obscured by the legal guise in which it presents itself and English lawyers are so hedged about by the thorny intricacies of their own procedure that a comprehensive view of the matter has never been obtainable.

Malays marry early and the young couple commonly start life with few possessions. By the sweat of their brows they clear a patch of jungle to grow their own rice or make their little plantation of rubber or coconuts and meanwhile they bring up their children. Unfortunately the climatic conditions which favour early marriage and frequent childbirth also encourage *lalang* and other enemies of the peasant proprietor. All these things bear hardly on the woman and in the unequal struggle she ages more rapidly than the man. Her physical charms are soon lost and sometimes she becomes ill-tempered and shrewish of tongue. Finally she may be supplanted by a much younger woman and then she must either submit to her husband taking a second wife in her life-time or else she must nag him into divorcing her. But what prospect has she of finding another mate and how is she to obtain her daily rice? A bitter quarrel ensues. Her own children, especially the grown-up daughters, usually take her side. Friends and neighbours are called in to mediate. The village chiefs and the *kathi* are consulted. They listen patiently to an oft-told tale and wisely they recommend *pakat*. In many cases they succeed in arranging a settlement—the property is divided somehow—and with a sigh of relief the *penghulu* says:—“*Sudah selesai, Tuan*” * when the District Officer arrives in the village on his periodical visit. But sometimes even the patience of the *kathi* is exhausted yet the obstinacy of the parties is still unconquered. In such cases the Court must apportion the property; by what law is it to be guided?

* They have settled the matter “out of Court”, Sir.

THE COMPOSITE NATURE OF THE LAW.

The elaborate statutes of the Federated States contain rules of procedure which apply equally to all races and classes but they are silent as to the substantive rights of the parties because in such matters as divorce and intestacy "the law follows the person". Thus, if a Frenchman and a Hindu both died leaving property in Selangor their representatives would file exactly similar petitions in the same Court and in order to determine the shares of the respective widows the Court would ascertain the appropriate rules of French and Hindu law and distribute the property accordingly. This, however, is subject to the important qualification that in relation to land the application of the personal law may be modified by the law of the place where the land is situated.

The first step therefore is to ascertain what is the personal law of the local Malays. They are, of course without exception Muhammadans by religion but it is well known that they do not follow the whole of the Muhammadan law as expounded by the Arabian jurists and that the Courts are to apply a composite law in which part of the Muhammadan law is mingled with ancient Malay custom. This principle is expressly recognised in the Treaty of Pangkor, which provides that the protecting Power is not to interfere with "Malay Religion and Custom", and in many other engagements.*

The general principles are clear but their practical application is difficult. The personal law is itself compounded of two elements, one of which is wholly unwritten and it applies only in so far as it is not inconsistent with the statute law. It may be convenient to examine these three elements in turn. In the first place what exactly is meant by "Malay Custom".

MALAY CUSTOM.

The ultimate root of the matter is, perhaps, only to be found in the pre-history of the race.

Among nomadic tribes there are no rules of distribution affecting land because in that phase land is not subjected to private ownership but as soon as any community learns to renew the fertility of the soil, by rotation of crops or by irrigation or manuring, these rudiments of agriculture lead directly to settlement and civilisation may then be said to have begun. In primitive communities recognition of the right of occupation and enjoyment

*See Maxwell and Gibson, "Treaties and Engagements", pp. 29 69, 86, 104, 136.

commonly precedes the notion of ownership of land but this right is quickly recognised as a transmissible one and rules of inheritance begin to develop.

These successive phases are still to be observed in the Malay Peninsula at the present time. The most primitive of the aborigines subsist mainly on the fruits of the chase. A group of Sakai will plant a little dry *padi* or tapioca in a small clearing and probably the yield is regarded as family property but after one, or at the most two, crops the clearing is abandoned. It will not be worth cultivating again until the slow processes of the jungle have renewed its fertility and it must then be cleared again. Consequently there is no property in the land itself.

In Trengganu, however, there are many patches of land where Malays have taken one or two crops of hill *padi* and afterwards planted rubber which they leave to grow up amongst the *blukar*. They make no pretence either of occupation or cultivation because necessity compels them to reside in their *kampongs* by the river or near the coast while they obtain their livelihood from fishing and coconuts but they intend to return and in fact do return after eight or ten years to tap the rubber trees, some of which always survive. The land therefore, though unoccupied, is not abandoned. It is regarded as having been reduced into property by right of clearing followed by notional occupation and serious disputes arise if during the long interval adverse occupation is attempted. This is the transitional phase existing side by side with the settled *kampongs*, planted with fruit and coconuts, where the land is marked with recognisable boundaries and is indisputably private property. Similar conditions prevailed in Sumatra centuries ago and in some districts still obtain.

Even primitive peoples develop some form of tribal organisation and, as Wilken shows, the Sumatran Malays furnish examples of several distinct types—patriarchal, matriarchal, exogamous, endogamous and so on. Some of these are primitive; others are more advanced but nearly all practised monogamy and in many tribes the rule was extremely strict. The prevailing form was matriarchal but in the absence of any central government there could never be uniformity of practice. In Menangkabau exogamous matriarchy was developed into an elaborate system of unwritten law called the *adat perpatih*. The Malays of Negri Sembilan came from this region; they brought their tribal organisation with them and in some districts they have preserved it intact up to the present day. In Palembang, however, during centuries of Hindu and monarchical influence the tribal organisation broke down and with the disintegration of the tribes the rule of exogamy necessarily perished though the matriarchal law of property survived. The other states followed the Palembang tradition, called *adat Temenggong*, but the absence of any tribal organisation has obscured the fact that their law of property was essentially the same as that of Negri Sembilan.

MUHAMMADAN LAW.

The Malaysian peoples did not become Muhammadans until centuries after the founding of Islam and it is generally accepted that the Malays were not Muhammadans at the time when they migrated from Sumatra. It is certain that they brought with them and preserved much of their ancient customary law and that part of the Muhammadan law has been superimposed, somewhat in the same manner as part of the canon law was superimposed on the Common Law of England by ecclesiastical jurists in Norman and Plantagenet times. The conversion of the Malay peoples, spread over several countries and speaking different dialects, cannot have been a sudden event completed within an assignable period; it must have been a gradual process. Moreover law and religion are neither wholly inter-dependent nor completely severable; the two subjects overlap in varying degrees. All systems of law deal with property and most religions deal with marriage and divorce; a man cannot, for instance, become a Muhammadan and still resist the remarriage of widows. But some religions, including the Christian, afford no guidance whatever on the subject of intestate succession.*

As Wilkinson shows in his "Law-Introductory Sketch" the Malay *adat* though not uniform, was a coherent system and although in the northern states many of its virtues were lost in the process autocratic administration by chiefs its principles still govern the occupation and devolution of land. Until quite lately at any rate the devolution of property even in the families of Perak Chiefs followed the principles of *adat*.† Apart, however, from ceremonies of animistic origin the *adat* did little to regulate marriage and divorce. Consequently it was not difficult for the Malays to adopt most of the Muhammadan law on these topics though in the important detail of *mas kawin* Indonesian custom still survives.‡

The two systems are really irreconcilable but in practice actual conflict is usually avoided by the operation of the third element in the *corpus juris*. The Muhammadan law is administered mainly by *kathis* and the statutes strictly limit their jurisdiction to the questions of marriage, divorce and alimony. They have no power to distribute property either on divorce or on death though in divorce cases especially they frequently arrange a settlement.

It is important to realise that although the Malays are generally strict Muhammadans they have never adopted the whole of the Muhammadan law. This is not a matter of choice but a necessary consequence of the fact that they live in a different climate.

* The Kedah legislature overlooked this fact—*Ooi Siew Hong v. Ooi Kim Lan*, 3 F.M.S. Rep. 244.

† Long Jafar's case—*op. cit* at p. 37.

‡ *Op cit*—at p. 53.

Law is not an abstract science. It has no real existence except in so far as it operates on the facts of everyday life. The law as laid down by Muhammad and his immediate successors had regard to the sociological condition of the Arabs in their day and therefore important parts of it are concerned with marriage and divorce among tribes and families practising patriarchy, polygamy and slavery. The most important kinds of property were camels and other flocks and herds, jewellery and money—land in Arabia being of relatively little value. The Muhammadan rules of distribution are therefore suited to the division of moveable property and are not apt for partition of land.

The sociological condition of the Malays was, and is, entirely different. Agricultural peasants have few domestic animals and little money. The only important kind of property is land which is indeed essential to their very existence. The Malays never practised slavery* as understood in Arabia and they had a very strong tradition of monogamy. To this day polygamy is very rare among the *kampung* class.

MODERN STATUTES.

For the present purpose it will suffice to treat the modern statutes as a single branch of the law though they are in fact derived from many different sources. Those of the Federated States are enacted exclusively in the English language and in general they follow the principles of modern English law but in many important respects they differ from the legislation of England and the Colonies. The statutes which require consideration here relate to land, to Muhammedan divorce and to intestate succession.

Land.

The law of ownership of land is contained in elaborate enactments based on the Australian Torrens system of registration of title but underlying their manifold technicalities is still the fundamental principle of Indonesian custom that the right to the land depends on occupation and cultivation. If the registered owner abandons his land the State can resume possession and in due course make a grant to another person. This system was introduced about the year 1880. Every holding is surveyed with precision by the Government before, or as soon as practicable after, occupation and marked with boundary stones. Each lot is then registered individually and a document of title prepared. Whenever a change of ownership occurs on sale or inheritance or by way of mortgage, a memorandum must be filed and the change is recorded in the register. No other title or dealing is valid. Conveyancing is thus reduced to the clearest and simplest form, boundary disputes are unknown and disputes as to owner-

* It is true that in the nineteenth century they had a form of debt slavery but that was probably a late development of *adat Temenggong* and inconsistent with true Muhammadanism.

ship are rare. Agricultural land is divided into two classes; areas of over ten acres are comprised in grants or certificates of title recorded in a State register and small holdings are recorded in "mukim registers" kept in the district land offices. At first the two forms of title conferred somewhat different rights and were regulated by separate Enactments but these were consolidated in the Land Code of 1926 and though the classification is retained for administrative convenience nearly all the distinctions have disappeared.

Divorce.

Each Sultan is the religious head of the Muhammadans in his State and he, in Council, appoints *kathis* who perform certain duties relating to mosque management and religious instruction and are registrars of Muhammadan marriage and divorce for their respective territorial divisions; their authority is defined by a written *kuasa* which empowers them to award alimony up to a specified sum. Within these limits they administer the Muhammadan law which, of course, did not contemplate registration; their procedure is accordingly regulated by statutes (in English) which provide the necessary machinery without touching on any point of substantive law.

The Muhammadan conception of divorce is fundamentally different from that of European systems. In the latter the divorce is brought about by a judicial decree; the question at issue in the proceedings is not whether the marriage has been dissolved but whether the facts are such that it ought to be dissolved. Among Muhammadans the actual divorce takes place by the act of the parties and the question for the *kathi* is not whether they ought to be divorced but whether they have actually brought about a divorce. If they have, the divorce is registered but this is not a judicial act; it is closely analogous to the signing of the register after a Christian marriage—a modern formality prescribed by the civil power for the purpose of record and proof but not a fundamental part of the proceeding. A *kathi* therefore, is in substance a registering official with certain powers of investigation, rather than a judge. He has quasi-judicial powers respecting alimony and maintenance but he has no jurisdiction to hear disputes regarding property. In practice, however, it is often impossible to investigate a question of divorce without going into facts which relate to a dispute about property—the two being indissolubly connected in the minds of the parties. In such cases the experience and influence of the *kathi* are frequently used to bring about a settlement. If his mediations are unsuccessful the dispute must be litigated in the civil courts. Where the subject matter of the dispute is money or jewellery there is no difficulty and little expense in bringing a civil suit before the *penghulu* or magistrate but among peasants the property in dispute is more often land. In order to provide a convenient forum for the decision of disputes as to the ownership of mukim register

land there was inserted in the Land Enactments a clause empowering the Collectors (*i.e.* the District Officers) to hear and determine such claims by summary procedure. (Whether the clause was intended to cover disputes arising out of divorce may be open to doubt but it came to be used for that purpose—probably on the principle *Boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem*).

Inheritance.

The old Land Enactments contained a similar provision giving the Collectors jurisdiction to hear and determine claims to succeed to the mukim register land of a deceased person in the same summary way. These special powers were exclusive and where the Collector had jurisdiction no court could interfere (except on final appeal after an intervening appeal to the Commissioner of Lands) but a claim to land held by grant could be entertained by the Supreme Court only. If, as occasionally happened, a peasant family held part of their land under grant and part by entry in the mukim register there was no possible way of bringing the whole subject-matter before any one tribunal at one time. In such cases there was not only delay, duplication and expense but a danger of conflicting decisions. (This difficulty arose in Wan Mahatan's case, pp. 25, 27). Moreover the estate of a deceased small holder may include moveable property and debts; the Collector took no account of these; his order transmitted the property directly to the beneficiaries and did not appoint an administrator.

As the economic development of the people proceeded their estates became more complicated and these anomalies more frequently gave rise to practical difficulties; hence on the passing of the Land Code of 1926 the special provision was omitted and replaced by a new chapter of the Probate and Administration Enactment which confers on the Collector a comprehensive jurisdiction to distribute the whole of any estate up to \$3,000 in value, including land of either class, chattels, money and securities; if necessary he can also appoint an administrator.

The most remarkable feature of the whole system is that it has raised a vast and complicated superstructure of legal procedure without any express foundation of substantive law. In theory this is a grave defect but it is doubtful whether any other course was possible and it is certain that in practice the system has worked extremely well. In the vast majority of cases substantial justice was done because appeals from the Collectors' decisions were very few, although they were heard by the Commissioner of Lands with the minimum of expense and formality.

It is inevitable that a few hard cases will occur, especially in a period of rapid development because amendment of the law must always lag a little behind the economic changes which call for legislation, yet the cases in which any serious difficulty has arisen are surprisingly few. These exceptional cases are now covered by a special Enactment which is described at p. 12 *infra*.

COLLECTORS' CASES.

The hearing of an application by the Collector was primarily an investigation of questions of fact, some of which depended on the registers and other land office records, but any such case may also involve the decision of a point of the personal law. It was frequently necessary to call the *kathi* as a witness on some issue of fact and also it was usual for the *penghulu* of the *mukim* to be in attendance whether he was a witness or not. The informality of their procedure made it easy for the Collectors to ascertain from these native officials and from other old men of the village what the recognised practice was without concerning themselves with technical distinctions between law and custom. Collectors are not professional lawyers but practical administrators; many of them very wisely made a point of hearing as many cases as possible in the village where the parties lived; they were applying a traditional principle of distribution "according to the Muhammadan law as varied by local custom". (This curious phrase has found its way into the Probate and Administration Enactment (Cap. 8 Section 173); it is in itself contradictory because the Muhammadan law cannot be varied but has nevertheless the merit or expressly recognising the composite nature of the personal law.)

The Muhammadan law of inheritance is an extraordinary mixture of flexibility and complexity. The Prophet himself laid it down that not more than one-third of the property may be left by will away from the heirs and the one-third may not be used to give an extra share to any heir. (Among country Malays wills are almost unknown.) The share of the widow (or widows where polygamy is practised) is one-eighth if the deceased leaves a child and one quarter in other cases; the parents take one-sixth each and the residue is divided among sons and daughters, each child taking twice as much as each daughter. If there are no children brothers and cousins inherit fractional shares proportionate to their degrees of relationship.

These rules of distribution, however, do not bind the heirs as between themselves; they are at liberty to divide the inheritance in any proportion they please. During the years 1923, 1924 and 1928 the writer dealt with a considerable number of these cases in the southern districts of Perak and he noticed a very curious dissonance between the results of the contested and of the uncontested cases. Where the family agreed on a distribution the result was usually to give a specific piece of land to the widow or a dependant daughter and for sons to share equally with daughters or even to waive altogether in favour of daughters. Sometimes they would agree to give the whole estate to their mother, no doubt on the understanding that she would not sell it, thus in effect postponing distribution till after the death of both parents.

All this bears no resemblance whatsoever to the Muhammadan law. On the other hand it does bear a very close resemblance to

the matriarchal *adat*. Moreover a great many titles were registered from the first in the names of women—a practice obviously not attributable to Muhammadan influence. The explanation is that until the close of the nineteenth century the people in the Malay States did not have any formal succession to property. In the absence of any documents of title of any kind whatsoever the family of a deceased peasant simply succeeded to his land by survivorship. If any dispute arose it was settled by the elders of the village in accordance with ancient custom. If the disputants were not satisfied it is more likely that they resorted to the *kris* than to the *kathi*.

With the establishment of the mukim register some formal transmission proceedings became necessary and in the absence of any statute of distribution and in the complete absence also of any case law or text writer, the Collectors drifted into the practice of accepting informal declarations by the *kathis* or *penghulus* as to the shares of the various beneficiaries. This practice conforms to the principle of Muhammadan jurisprudence which regards the province of the judge as limited to questions of fact and reserves questions of law for juriconsults.* Most of the *kathis* are ordinary local Malays of the peasant class who have picked up a smattering of Arabic and many of them have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Despite the temptations to which they are exposed and the meagreness of their emoluments they are invariably upright and trustworthy men† but most of them are barely literate and their knowledge of the Muhammadan law is traditional rather than learned. Consequently they are unable to distinguish in principle between Malay custom and Muhammadan law and they will confidently propound as a provision of Muhammadan law a rule which is really a rule of *adat* (See e.g. *Laton v. Ramah* at pp. 37, 43, 47).

In these circumstances the tendency was for the Muhammadan rules of distribution of estates gradually to supersede the custom. The *kathis*, not having any detailed knowledge of the rules, stated the fractional shares from complicated tables of succession which they might or might not apply correctly. Some Collectors preferred to make these calculations for themselves and the Perak secretariat issued tables for the purpose—without, of course, investing them with any legal authority. In cases to which the tables did not apply the *kathi* might quote pontifically some dictum or maxim extracted from a book or manuscript. Where the parties accepted these pronouncements, as they commonly did, the results were satisfactory but if their authority was disputed or if the experts differed, by what law was the Collector to decide?

* See Wilkinson's "Introductory Sketch" at pages 65, 66.

† The writer has heard many insinuations and has personally investigated a number of actual cases where suspicions arose but he has never found or heard of a venal decision by a *kathi*. This illustrates the observations of Wilkinson at pp. 67, 68.

THE PRACTICAL PROBLEM.

Stated in general terms the problem is to ascertain the rules governing the distribution of the property of a Malay family on dissolution of marriage.

As a marriage may be dissolved either by divorce or by death the question usually arises in practice either in the form of a claim by a divorced woman for a share in the property acquired during the marriage or in the form of a contest between a widow and the other beneficiaries of her deceased husband's estate. Among country people these disputes are seldom carried to Court but once the issue is joined they are commonly conducted with extreme bitterness and a marked disinclination for even the smallest of those admissions and concessions which tend to mitigate the asperity and expense of litigation. The reason for this is to be found in a deep-set instinct of human nature. Blood is thicker than water. Between kinsfolk there is a bond of a totally different nature to the marriage bond. The love of a spouse may transcend all other emotions but even so it seldom gives rise to more than a mild tolerance of the relations "in law" and once the marriage tie is snapped by death or divorce that tolerance easily gives place to antipathy. In the same way there is little love lost between a second wife and her husband's children. In the old folk-tales of northern Europe the cruel stepmother is a constant theme. So in Malaya these questions of property and inheritance are never litigated between a woman and her own children or between the kindred of an intestate. It is a well-known and most significant fact that where the family are able to agree on a division the widow always receives more than the very small share of the estate which the Muhammadan law allows her. This is due to practical wisdom prevailing over prejudice or legal theory. In the vast majority of Malay families one-eighth would not provide the widow with subsistence. Clearly therefore this matter is one which is in actual practice regulated by Malay custom rather than by Muhammadan law. The fact that the Muhammadan law allows distribution of the estates of deceased persons to be settled by consent of the heirs has enabled many arrangements which were in reality applications of *kampung* custom to pass as distributions according to Muhammadan law and has therefore been beneficial in individual cases but it obviously tends to confusion of thought and has in fact led to much misunderstanding and to the use of misleading terms. (p. 54)

DECIDED CASES AND OPINIONS.

Collectors' cases were never reported or preserved in any way; the first volume of Supreme Court cases was not issued until 1922 and the series of annual volumes did not commence till 1931. Up to that date the only ruling of any kind whatsoever was a minute of the Perak State Council, passed in 1907, (p. 70) and as this was buried in an old Gazette Collectors had no means of

knowing of its existence. It was brought to light by the fortuitous circumstance that twelve years later a case was referred to Raja Chulan (as he then was) who, being a member of the State Council, remembered the resolution and referred to it in his judgment and seven years later still that unreported judgment was referred to by another Judge. The oldest reported case in Malaya is *Tijah v. Mat Alli*, decided in Penang in 1884; this turned on the effect of a Straits Settlements statute and affords no assistance but is reproduced at p. 15 for its comparative value. The earliest case known to have come before the Supreme Court of the F.M.S. was *Awee v. Ibrahim*, 1 F.M.S. Rep. p. 279, decided in 1918. This was a claim by a divorced wife for a half-share in a piece of land acquired during the marriage or alternatively for \$600 and other or further relief. Braddell C. J. C. dismissed the suit on the ground that the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to decide a claim for subsistence by a divorced Muhammadan wife. It is unfortunate that this case was ever reported because the facts were not investigated, the issues were never argued, and later judges have declined to treat it as an authority.

The next case was *Haji Ramah v. Alpha*, heard in 1924 (IV F.M.S. Rep. p. 179 and *infra* p. 22). This was a claim by a widow for a share in land which she had helped to bring into cultivation; the claim was resisted by a sister of the deceased who strenuously denied that the widow had done any work on the land; the main issue was therefore one of pure fact. The *penghulu* had seen the plaintiff planting coconuts on the land. Reay J. held that she was entitled to one quarter of the value of the land as *upah* or compensation for work done, in addition to the quarter of the residue of the estate to which she was entitled by right of inheritance (the deceased having no children). The case is reported and discussed at pp. 22, 24 *infra*. It will be noticed that the Chief Kathi, while purporting to declare the Muhammadan law, in fact propounded what is clearly a rule of Malay custom relating to land.

In *Laton v. Ramah* decided in 1927 (VI F.M.S. Rep. 116 and *infra*, p. 35) a Malay widow claimed half the property of her deceased husband as *harta sharikat*; the claim was resisted by another widow of the deceased. The facts were in one respect exceptional. The woman possessed considerable property before her marriage; the land in dispute, or a large portion of it, was purchased with funds supplied by her and was therefore to that extent her "separate estate". It was held that the widow was entitled to half the property in dispute as *harta sharikat* in addition to her distributive share in the residue as a widow. The interesting judgment of Sir Henry Gompertz is reported in full and discussed at pages 35, 46 *infra*. The learned Chief Justice appears to have taken the expression "Muhammadan law as varied by local custom" quite literally because he treated the question as one governed by a principle of *adat* which has

become part of the Muhammadan law. The case is noteworthy because although in accordance with the established practice of the Supreme Court oral evidence of the law or custom applicable had been given by *kathis* at the trial without objection it was held on appeal that this evidence was legally inadmissible. This decision left disputed issues of Muhammadan law at a deadlock for no Judge or Collector could undertake to decide abstruse questions unaided and since he was debarred from taking evidence he was left without any possible means of informing himself. This led directly to the passing of the Muhammadan Law and Malay Custom (Determination) Enactment of 1930 which enables any Judge or Collector before whom a question of Muhammadan law or Malay custom arises to draw up a statement of the facts and submit the question to the Ruler of the State in Council for decision.

This statute has removed many of the difficulties under which the Courts have laboured in the past for it is certainly far more satisfactory to have recourse to an independent authority than to attempt to ascertain a rule of inheritance by taking oral evidence. Also it has the advantage of elasticity for the State Councils have to deal with new problems as they arise and though they may fairly be expected to have some regard to precedent they will not be as rigidly trammelled by previous rulings as are the Courts. Examples of its working are given at pages 58, 63, 67.

The remainder of the authorities reported are now printed for the first time. This collection does not claim to be exhaustive but it contains all the cases which the writer has been able to trace. In view of the research undertaken by Mr. Daly in connection with *Rasinah v. Said* (p. 29) and the numerous enquiries made by Government preparatory to the framing of the Determination Enactment it is unlikely that any other reportable cases exist, though there must be valuable material buried among the many thousands of files in the various land offices.

In considering these reports it must be borne in mind that the earlier cases were not available to the Collectors who decided the later ones.

GENERAL INFERENCE.

Until long after the commencement of the twentieth century the distribution of property among Malay families was almost invariably carried out according to Malay custom of matriarchal origin. In case of divorce or on the death of the husband the wife succeeded to a substantial share of the land, usually from one third to one half. Her rights as actually conceded in the other States approximated very closely to the *charian laki-bini** of the avowedly matriarchal tribes in Negri Sembilan.

* Acquisitions of husband and wife.

The economic state of the peninsular Malays has been materially altered during the last thirty years. In the "boom" phases of rubber the area of about three or four acres which is necessary to support in comfort an ordinary family is temporarily capable of producing so large an income as to enable the family to employ immigrants to tap the rubber while the owners live in relative affluence; this virtually removes them from the peasant to the "proprietary planter" class.

During the same period the Malays have come into contact with the outside world more freely than ever before. Increased wealth and improved communications have enabled more of them to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and administration under British protection has resulted in more wide-spread literacy and education. In consequence Muhammadan law has increased its influence and tended to supersede the *adat* in the sphere of property. This process is still continuing. It is at present (1936) checked by the slump conditions of the last lustrum but the process will inevitably continue though it is improbable that the *adat* will ever wholly disappear.

In these conditions it is felt that one half is an unduly high proportion for a widow or divorcee to take out of the estate of her husband especially when the husband's family or the step children are on bad terms with her. Unless, therefore, the woman in the case can come to terms with the other claimants the matter must be litigated. Where she has in fact assisted to cultivate land she is entitled to one half of that land, and in other cases to one-third, as the jointly acquired property of the marriage.

In theory this is in addition to her one-eighth (against children) or one quarter (in other cases) of the residue which a widow takes by right of inheritance but these fractions ought not to be taken literally—a rough settlement is all that the true customary law ever contemplated.

The foregoing however, is a rule relating to genuine peasants and the real underlying principle is one neither of *adat* nor of Muhammadan law but of public policy which is the same all over the world, namely that whenever a man leaves an estate, reasonable provision should be made for his widow having regard to all the circumstances of the family.*

In cases, therefore, where the total estate is in excess of what a genuine peasant family can reasonably be supposed to possess the woman should receive a reasonable share, a quarter

* The doctrine of the one-third share where the woman does not work (p. 27) and the half share which the ancient custom gave to peasant women suggests a comparison with the mediaeval law of England under which the widow of a man of position took one-third of his lands for life as her "dower" whereas the widow of a small holder took one half of his lands by right of "freebench."

or a third, if possible one specific lot of land, in full settlement and the residue should be divided among the other heirs according to the Muhammadan law.

Emphasis should be laid on the words "total estate", meaning the total estate of the two spouses, which is not necessarily the same as the total land which is the subject matter of the action. This difficulty arises from the technicality of the statutes relating to jurisdiction and registration of title and cannot be altogether avoided under the present law—but if the point is remembered and questions put as to the existence of other property much time may be saved and some injustice prevented.

TIJAH v. MAT ALLI.*

*Province Wellesley—joint earnings—Muhammadian law modified
by local statute.*

In the Colony (except in part of Malacca, as to which see p 16) a Muham-
madan wife cannot enforce a claim to share joint earnings.

Section 27 of the Muhammadian Marriage Ordinance, 1880
provided :—

II Muhammadian law.....shall be recognised by the
Courts of the Colony only so far as is expressly enacted
in this section.

* * * * *

XI The wages and earnings of any Muhammadian married
woman, acquired or gained by her during marriage,
in any employment, occupation or trade carried on
by her and not by her husband ;

and also any money or other property acquired
by her, during marriage, through the exercise
of any skill or by way of inheritance, legacy
gift, purchase or otherwise ;

and all savings from, and investments of, such
wages, earnings and property shall be deemed to
be her own property.....

XVI.all settlements and dealings with property
between a Muhammadian husband and wife shall,
subject to the provisions of this section, be governed
by the provisions of English law.

(These clauses are reproduced in the Revised Edition of
1936, Cap. 57, Sections 26(2), 34(1) and 40(2).)

The parties were husband and wife and lived in Province
Wellesley. They had jointly rented lands and planted *padi* and
made *nipah* sugar ; from time to time they had sold the *padi* and
sugar and the husband received the proceeds, part of which was
used for their daily expenses ; the husband retained the balance
for himself. The husband having divorced the wife she sued for
\$50, being a half-share of this balance, as the joint earnings of
husband and wife.

A *kathi* gave evidence that “ according to Muhammadian
law a wife after divorce was entitled to a half-share of all pro-
perty acquired by joint-earnings of husband and wife during
coverture.”

* Also reported in 4 Kyshe at p. 124. The original record cannot now
be found so it is impossible to ascertain what were the actual expressions used
in the evidence.

The Commissioner of the Court of Requests, Province Wellesley, gave judgment for the wife for the amount claimed, with costs. The husband appealed.

1886
2 April.

The plaintiff appeared in person

Van Someren for the defendant cited *Bongah v. Mat Din*.*

WOOD, J. said that the joint earnings of husband and wife during coverture were, according to English law, clearly the property of the husband and such it must be even among Muhammadans here, unless the Muhammadan Marriage Ordinance provided otherwise. By clause XI of section 27 of that Ordinance the wife's own earnings were declared to be her separate estate and by clause XII she was entitled to maintain an action therefor. Nothing in that Ordinance, however, dealt with the joint earnings of husband and wife and it followed from clause II of section 27 that the Muhammadan law on the subject was immaterial. The case was therefore governed by English law.

Judgment of the Court below reversed, with costs.

Commentary.

The towns of Singapore and Penang contain many Muhammadans of Indian and Arabian origin who belong to the mercantile and property-owning class. The law relating to Muhammadans in the Colony is therefore designed primarily to regulate the affairs of a class which is scarcely found in the Malay States.

Ethnographically, however, the Malays of Province Wellesley are indistinguishable from those of the neighbouring districts of Kedah and Perak. As these two cases were carried to the High Court within little more than a year from the commencement of the Ordinance and having regard to the evidence of the *kathi* who must have been familiar with local custom and practice it may fairly be inferred that up to 1880, at any rate, it was usual for joint earnings to be shared on divorce.

Similarly the country Malays of Malacca follow a tribal custom called the Adat Naning which is substantially the same as the Adat Perpatih practised in the adjoining districts of Negri Sembilan. This Naning custom is expressly recognised by Statute (Cap. 125 Section 5, in the Revised Edition of 1936).

* 2nd April, 1884. Action by a Muhammadan wife to recover *inter alia* a sum of money for her share of the joint earnings of herself and the defendant her husband. The parties had separated, but had not been divorced.

Van Someren, for the plaintiff.

Ross, for defendant.

WOOD, J. by consent gave judgment for the plaintiff for \$77 without costs, as to the claims other than in respect of joint earnings—but refused to give the plaintiff anything under that head, as he considered joint earnings of a Muhammadan husband and wife—like other husbands and wives—were the property of the husband under English law.

It is probable therefore that in Malacca a Muhammadan woman of the peasant class would succeed where Tijah failed, provided that she pleaded the custom. The decision in Mat Alli's case appears to be founded on the same confusion of Malay custom with Muhammadan law as occurred in *Laton v. Ramah*, (as to which see pp. 9, 40, 43, 55).

In cases of claims to share the estates of deceased persons, however, Malay custom as to inheritance is recognised by law throughout the Colony—Cap. 57 Section 27.

TEH RASIM v. NEMAN.

Perak Supreme Court Suit No. 232 of 1919.

Divorce—Harta sharikat—Custom of Perak—State Council Resolution of 1907

A Malay divorced wife who had helped to cultivate land acquired during the marriage claimed one-third of the land. *Held* that she was entitled to succeed and evidence that she was divorced for adultery excluded.

The parties were married about the year 1900. They had five children who survived infancy, all of whom were suckled by the plaintiff who also did all the household work. Soon after the marriage the parties acquired from the Government a piece of land which they planted with rubber and sold four years later for \$1,100. Later the defendant acquired shares in seven other pieces of land. The plaintiff actually worked on at least four of these.

In 1918 the defendant divorced the plaintiff.

After the divorce the defendant sold, or agreed to sell, his share in two of the pieces of land in order to pay off a charge over part of the land. This charge was made, apparently, to secure repayment of a debt contracted during the marriage. The plaintiff entered a caveat and thereby prevented the registration of any transfer of the land.

The plaintiff claimed one-third of the value of the lands acquired by the defendant during the marriage.

The Court referred the suit for enquiry to Raja Chulan, (afterwards the Hon. Sir Chulan, C.M.G., M.F.C., Raja di Hilir, Perak).

The Special Referee's note of the defendant's own evidence reads (in part) :—

".....I divorced plaintiff on account of misconduct. She admitted misconduct to me. I can bring evidence. (Defendant told that he cannot do so now)....."

RAJA CHULAN, *Special Referee* :—"I am of opinion that plaintiff has a claim according to the ruling made by His Highness the Sultan of Perak in Council in 1907, [p. 70 *infra*.]

The question arises as to reduction of claim on account of debts."

(Apparently the matter was adjourned for further consideration of this question of reduction on account of debts but no decision seems ever to have been given on that issue. Possibly a settlement was reached because the matter was left pending for nearly six years.)

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XV, Part I,

The Hon. RAJA CHULAN, *Special Referee* :—" I find that Teh Rasim is entitled to a one-third share of the landed property registered in the name of Neman comprised in Grants 7725, 10440, 11450, 12623 and 5995."

1925
19th Sept.

WATSON, J. made a formal Order that one-third of the interests of the defendant in each of the five lots of land registered in the name of the defendant be transferred to the plaintiff. The defendant was also ordered to pay the plaintiff's taxed costs.

25th Sep.
Watson, J.

Commentary.

The record is meagre but it seems to shew that in the opinion of the learned Referee the woman's claim would not be defeated even if it were proved that she was divorced for adultery. This is in accordance with the view expressed in his minute of 2nd June 1922 (quoted on page 41) that the woman's claim is based not on any right of a wife as such but on the principle of remuneration for work done. It also accords with a case decided in 1907 under the *adat perpateh* of Negri Sembilan where the Supreme Court affirmed an order for division of *pencharian* in favour of a wife who had actually been convicted of adultery in a criminal court (*Sohor's case*—cited by Parr and Mackray at page 91). This illustrates the survival of Malay customary law regarding property after the adoption of the Muhammadan law of divorce.

WAN NAB v. JASIN.

(Appellant). (Respondent).

(Kedah Civil Appeal No. 37 of 1341.)*

Harta sharikat—division of property on divorce.

On dissolution of a Malay Marriage in Kedah the property acquired by husband and wife is divided between them but there is no established rule or principle to guide the Court in deciding the respective shares. Uncertainty of the law criticised.

The facts sufficiently appear from the judgment.

17.1.1342
Daly. J.

DALY, J. :—In this case the appellant sued her husband, the respondent, for her share of their joint earnings during marriage up to the time of their quarrel and separation, roughly a period of seven years.

To ascertain, in the case of an illiterate and happy-go-lucky Malay married couple, what the net joint earnings over such a period actually amounted to after making all proper deductions, such as *e.g.* of working expenses, maintenance of the family, money spent by the wife on herself, presents to the wife *et cetera*, is clearly an impossible task. The Court in such a case is driven, in the absence of anything like reliable evidence, to guess and both parties were obviously guessing—each side guessing in his or her own favour.

Neither party appears to have started with any appreciable property or capital of their own. The account in this case covers only a matter of 6 or 7 years. It is obvious that the longer the period the more guessing there will be on the part of both sides and the more impossible and preposterous becomes the task of the Court.

I have studied a number of previous cases of *sharikal* disputes decided by the Kedah High Court, *e.g.* Civil Cases Nos. 85/1335, 25/1336, 84/1337, 14/1339. My remarks on this case apply to all these and, with all deference to previous judges, it seems to me that in every case the decisions rest on guess-work. It is unreasonable and improper to expect the Court to function as a guessing machine and as suits between husband and wife for joint earnings appear to be fairly common in Kedah it seems to me that the matter should receive the serious attention of Government and that some simple and general *ratio decidendi* in such cases should be laid down by law.

I believe that in the F.M.S. cases of this nature are settled by compromise, the headmen and *kathis* assisting in settlement. I cannot at any rate recall any cases of importance being brought in the higher Courts and no such cases are reported. In the Colony it was realised about 1870† that cases of this nature merely meant

* A.D. 1922.

† The earliest Ordinance on the subject appears to be No. 5 of 1880, see p. 15.

guess work and they were abolished by statute ; joint earnings during marriage were declared to be the property of the husband ; by way of compensation the wife, on the husband's death, was given a one-third share of his property. Doubtless this solution, while a very convenient one, would not be acceptable in Kedah. It is not my province here to make suggestions but merely to invite attention to a very unsatisfactory state of things.

As to the details of the present case, the wife—appellant asked the Court to guess the value of the joint earnings at \$1,425 while the husband—respondent asked that the Court should guess them at *nil* and eventually thought they might amount to \$100, plus \$64 in respect of jewellery. The lower Court guessed the figure of \$500 and put the wife's share of this at one-third (this fraction of one-third is again a guess) approximately and allotted her \$166. On the evidence before it, I think that this is about as good a rough and ready decision as the Court could have come to, if anything being rather more than the wife—appellant should have had.

I find, however, that the appellant had previously brought a suit on substantially the same grounds in Civil Suit 344/41 and had got judgment for \$64.45. This had not been brought to the notice of the lower Court and at the request of the respondent I deduct this sum and vary the judgment to one for \$101.55 ; I order the respondent to pay proportionate costs of the proceedings in the lower Court and the appellant to pay the costs of this appeal.

I find that on 27.11.41 the appellant most improperly filed a further plaint in the Court of the Chief Magistrate, Alor Star, in respect of the subject matter of the present *sharikat* proceedings. It is not clear what action has been taken on this plaint. I direct that if not already done the plaint be rejected, the matter having been finally decided by this Court.

HAJI RAMAH v. ALPHA and others.*

Selangor Civil Suit No. 51 of 1924.

Upah—claim of widow to a share of land which she helped to bring under cultivation.

A Selangor Malay died leaving five pieces of land. The widow claimed a half share in two pieces, which had been brought into cultivation during the marriage, as *upah* or "compensation" for her share in the work of cultivation. Held, as a fact, that the widow had worked on the land and, as a matter of law, that the widow's right to *upah* extended to land inherited by the husband but brought into cultivation during the marriage. The share of the widow fixed at one-fourth of the two pieces of land in question, in addition to her distributive share in the residue of the estate.

1924
th March

REAY, J. C. :—The plaintiff in this case is the widow and administratrix of Haji Mahmud bin Osman and the defendants are the only other relatives. Haji Mahmud died intestate on the 24th of February, 1921, leaving five pieces of land and some household goods. It is agreed that so far as the succession is concerned the plaintiff is entitled to one-quarter of the estate, first defendant (the sister) to one-half and the other two defendants (cousins) to one-eighth each. But the plaintiff claims that in addition to her share as widow she is entitled to a further half share in two of the pieces of land because she helped Haji Mahmud to open up and cultivate them.

The parties were not represented by counsel and no defence was filed. This made the case a difficult one to try and necessitated more questioning by the Court than is desirable. The amount involved is small, the total value of all five pieces of land being given as \$1,300. A considerable portion of the estate has already been dissipated in litigation. It is therefore necessary to decide the claim as expeditiously and cheaply as possible.

As I understand the case the main issue is one of fact. The defendants strenuously deny that the plaintiff worked on the land at all and she as strenuously maintains that she did. In addition the defendants deny that Haji Mahmud bought the two pieces of land as pleaded in the fourth paragraph of the plaint but this question turned out to be irrelevant, the Chief Kathi stating that the rule applied equally to inherited land (*pesaka*) and to land acquired by purchase. The titles show that one of them, No. 2286, was issued on application 13/99 and the other, No. 2277, in exchange for an older title described as "M.R. 38". Were it necessary to decide the question I should find that No. 2277 is *pesaka* and No. 2286 not.

No question of jurisdiction was raised and the parties clearly intended that I should follow the rule of Muhammadan law. The only evidence before me on the rule was that of the Chief Kathi who is, of course, a competent witness and possibly the

* This case is also reported in IV, F.M.S. Rep, at p. 179.

highest available authority on such matters. He said that if a wife helps her husband to clear, or plant, or even cultivate, his land she is entitled to compensation (*upah*), that it makes no difference how the husband acquired the land, that a widow can claim a share in land instead of monetary compensation and that the share to be given to her is in the discretion of the Court. In reply to a question by me he said :—

“ Every Malay wife in the country who helps her husband to plant *padi* is entitled to be paid for it if she claims it. Usually they do not claim.”

and he explained that if the wife is divorced the husband should pay the compensation but if the husband dies the widow's claim is against the estate.

The *Kathi*, Kuala Selangor, stated that the plaintiff preferred her claim to him in the first instance and that he told her he could not decide it and referred her to the Chief *Kathi*. He explained that he had never had to deal with a claim of this nature before and agreed that it was very unusual for a wife to make such a claim.

The only witness called by the plaintiff to support her on the question of fact was Nawi bin Haji Mohamed who was *penghulu* of the *mukim* from 1904 to his retirement on pension some four or five years ago. He knew the people and the lands concerned and stated that in 1904 both pieces of land were under small jungle (*blukar*), that nothing was then planted on them and so far as he knew they had not even been alienated, that in 1905 Haji Mahmud and plaintiff opened up both pieces and planted them with coconuts and that he had seen plaintiff working on the land. Against this there is only the evidence of Alpha, the first defendant, who lived from half a mile to a mile from the land and who swore that both pieces had been fully planted up by Haji Mahmud and his father. She said :—

“ I say plaintiff did no work because I know my father and Mahmud planted everything. What work was there for her to do ? I say she did nothing. The *kabun* had already been opened. There was nothing to do except perhaps plant vegetables very light work. She does not deserve anything extra for such work.”

There is not the slightest reason to doubt Nawi's veracity or accuracy and I am satisfied on the evidence that whether the land had been formerly planted up or not, in and about the year 1904 there was no cultivation of any account and plaintiff did in fact assist her husband to plant it up with coconuts and vegetables shortly afterwards. She is therefore admittedly entitled to compensation by way of an additional share in the estate. What that share should be it is not easy to say and if the estate were a more substantial one and there seemed any likelihood of further evidence

being obtainable I should order an inquiry. But it seems that such an order would merely involve additional expense without serving any useful purpose. I think the plaintiff is claiming too much and award her one-quarter of the present value of the two pieces concerned, *viz.*, Mukim Entries 2286 and 2277. In addition to this she will have her quarter share of the residue as widow.

* * * * *

(The learned Judge discussed *Awee v. Ibrahim*, I, F.M.S. Rep. 274).

* * * * *

From the evidence it would seem that such claims have been very rare in the past. Should they become common it is possible that much trouble will be caused in attempting to assess the proper amount of compensation to be paid to a wife for work done many years previously. I hope the result of this case will not be a crop of similar claims. Should there be any danger of this, the question might be found deserving of attention by the legislature.

Commentary.

On the evidence this case could hardly have been decided otherwise but it is submitted that the opinion of one witness, even though he was the Chief Kathi, is not sufficient to support any general conclusion. He said that if a Malay inherits a piece of wet rice land and his wife helps him to plant the annual *padi*, then on divorce or death of the husband she becomes entitled to a share of the land. It is, however, unsafe to take literally an observation of a Judge (and *a fortiori* a statement of a witness) which goes beyond the facts of the case before him. He may have meant that if (as was the case here) the land had gone out of cultivation at the date when the man came into possession and the wife helped to bring it into cultivation again she would become entitled to a share. This would accord with the fundamental principle of Malay tenure that the right to land depends on occupation and cultivation. The statement that the share of the widow is in the discretion of the Court accords with the opinion of the Pahang committee (p. 72).

This is the only case in which the term *upah* occurs and "compensation" is not an accurate rendering; *upah* means "remuneration". Neither *harta sa-pencharian* nor *harta sharikat* was mentioned.

WAN MAHATAN v. HAJI ABDUL SAMAT.

Larut Land Case No. 89 of 1924.

Ipoh Civil Appeal No. 27 of 1925.

Perak—*Harta sharikat*—partition on divorce—the wife's share, if any, depends on the nature of the work actually done by her.

This was an application under Section 37 of the Land Enactment, 1911.

1924
24 June

The claimant was the divorced wife of the respondent. She claimed to be registered as the proprietress of a half-share in each of five lots of land which had been acquired during the marriage and registered in the name of the respondent on the ground that they were *sharikat* according to the *hukum shara*. It was agreed that the parties had no property when they were married.

22 July

The respondent admitted that apart from agreement a divorced wife is entitled to a share but he resisted the claim on the ground that at the time of the divorce the claimant had agreed to forego her legal claim.

The issue for trial was therefore whether the alleged agreement had been made and each party called several witnesses who gave evidence at considerable length as to the proceedings and negotiations connected with the divorce, which had taken place about five years before this action was brought.

The claimant's case was that she obtained the divorce by *tebus talak* for a consideration of \$20 which she said was satisfied by her abandoning her claim to her *mas kahwin* which was \$20.

The respondent contended that the consideration for the *tebus talak* was the waiver by the claimant of her claim to a share of the *harta sharikat*.

The *kathi* who had enquired into and registered the divorce gave evidence at the trial and in answer to the Collector he said :—

“According to Muhammadan law the question of *tebus talak* does not affect *harta sharikat*. All the property which was obtained during the marriage has to be divided into two shares and one share goes to each.”

The *penghulu* (Che Pandak Abdullah) gave evidence that the defendant had strenuously resisted the claimant's petition for divorce and that \$20 was a very small consideration for *tebus talak*.

T. S. ADAMS, Esq., *Collector, Larut* :—The evidence of the *naib kathi* who registered the divorce is most important and it is not shaken by any of the evidence for the defence. In fact Pandak Abdullah (second witness for the defence) rather supports the claimant's version except on general grounds of custom which are of

16 Dec.
Adams, C.L.R.

importance. The usual local custom is *lebus talak sa-tengah mas kahwin* though in some cases the payment may be greater.

In all probability respondent was not speaking the truth when he said that his wife actually retained the *mas kahwin* but there is no proof. Normally a wife on divorce is entitled to a share in the property, *harta sharikat*. I do not find it proved that claimant in this case gave up her claim. She is therefore entitled to receive a share and I direct that the *Kathi*, Taiping, declare in writing what share she is entitled to and that she then be registered as owner of such share in the lands claimed. Meantime a Collector's caveat is to be registered.

In pursuance of this judgment the *kathi* gave the following certificate:—*

1025
12 Jan.
A. Rahman
Kathi.

HAJI ABDUL RAHMAN, *Kathi, Larut*:—Fasal harta Haji Abdul Samat dengan janda-nya Wan Mahatan sa-tengah habuan di-atas lima keping tanah itu berapa bahagian Wan Mahatan boleh dapat tiap-tiap keping itu maka ini-lah beta nyata-kan harta sharikat antara orang laki-isteri pada hukum shara' di-atas tiga hal:—

- (1) Sa'orang berkahwin dan tiada apa-apa harta-nya antara kedua-nya itu pada permulaan-nya tiba-tiba berakhtir-lah oleh kedua-nya dengan apa-apa jalan yang boleh mendapat harta tiba-tiba dapat harta itu maka harta itu berbahagi dua.
- (2) Sa'orang berkahwin dan tiada apa-apa harta juga pada permulaan-nya tiba-tiba berakhtir-lah kedua-nya tetapi tiada bersamaan seperti laki-laki berniaga atau berkedai maka perempuan itu ada-lah ia terlemahan sedikit daripada usaha suami-nya maka harta yang di-dapati seperti demikian itu berbahagi tiga-dua bahagian daripada tiga kapada suami-nya dan satu bahagian kapada isteri-nya.
- (3) Sa'orang perempuan berkahwin dengan sa'orang yang makan gaji pada hal perempuan itu tiada apa-apa kerjaan ia mahadamatkan suami-nya seperti bertanak dan menchuchikan baju suami-nya seperti kalaziman hadamat perempuan malayu zaman ini maka harta yang dapat di-dalam itu tiada apa-apa sharikat dengan perempuan itu hanya tertentu kapada suami-nya juga.

Ini-lah ghalip pada hukum shara' harta sharikat orang laki-isteri dengan salah satu daripada tiga perkara ini yang berlaku antara orang laki-isteri.

Maka saperti pendapatan Wan Mahatan dengan Haji Abdul Samat pada hukum shara' tetap dapat kapada Wan Mahatan sa-tengah pada tiap-tiap keping tanah yang tersebut.

* For a translation, see p. 27.

(Translation).

With regard to the property of Haji Abdul Samat and his divorced wife Wan Mahatan, a half share in five pieces of land and what share Wan Mahatan can obtain in each piece, I state the partnership property as between husband and wife according to the Muhammadan law in three cases :—

- (1) A person marries and there is no property between the pair at the commencement of their married life ; afterwards by any means by which two people together can acquire property they acquire property, such property is divided into two shares.
- (2) A person marries and there is no property at the commencement ; afterwards (they acquire property) but not by joint efforts such as by the man trading or keeping a shop and the wife has a somewhat easy time compared with her husband ; property so obtained is divided into three shares—two thirds to the husband and one share to the wife.
- (3) A woman marries a person who earns wages so that the woman does no work—she cherishes her husband by cooking rice and washing his clothes as is usual for a Malay woman of the present day—property obtained in that way is not in partnership with the woman but is appropriated to her husband alone.

This is established according to the Muhammadan law, the partnership property of husband and wife (is distributed) in accordance with one or other of these three provisions.

And as to the property acquired by Wan Mahatan with Haji Abdul Samat—according to the Muhammadan law it is decided that Wan Mahatan takes one half of each piece of land above mentioned.

(Note.—Of the five pieces of land two only were held by entry in the Mukim Register—the other three were held by Certificate of Title. A Collector has no jurisdiction to hear claims to the latter. A formal order was drawn up transmitting a half share in each of the two mukim register lots to Wan Mahatan.)

Haji Abdul Samat appealed to the Commissioner of Lands on the grounds :—

- (1) that the finding of the Collector was against the weight of the evidence ;
- (2) that the Collector decided questions of the Muhammadan law of division of property after divorce without going into the facts as to what property was acquired during the marriage ;
- (3) that the Collector was not a competent person to deal with such partition after divorce.

At the hearing of the appeal Haji Abdul Samat, in person, contended that Wan Mahatan had agreed to forego her claim.

1925
22 Oct.
Elles, C.L.

B. W. ELLES, Esq., *Commissioner of Lands* :—“ There is a certain amount of evidence, though not of a very reliable character apparently, that before the day of the divorce Wan Mahatan said that she would be prepared to forego the *harta sharikat* in order to get a divorce.

There is, however, the position and the unshaken evidence of the *naib kathi* that she did not give up her claim on the day of the divorce. Dealing with the appellant's written grounds of appeal. I hold :—

- (1) That the Collector's finding is not against the weight of evidence ;
- (2) That it is only in respect of property acquired during the marriage that the Collector directed the *Kathi* to declare.
- (3) That the Collector is competent to deal with a partition on divorce of land acquired during a Muhammadan marriage.

I am of opinion that the appellant has failed to shew any reason why the order of the Collector should be upset and the appeal is dismissed.

1925
21 Nov.

From this judgment Haji Abdul Samat appealed to the Supreme Court on the grounds that the Collector was not authorised to deal with a case of this character and that the claim was barred by limitation.

1926
17 Feb.

K. M. Coomarasamy for the appellant cited :—

Awee v. Ibrahim, 1, F.M.S. Rep. 274 (and see p. 11)

Janat v. Sheik Khuda Bakhas 2, F.M.S. Rep. 61.

The respondent appeared in person.

Watson, J.

WATSON, J.—I am of opinion that the Collector was competent to deal with a partition or division of land acquired during a Muhammadan Marriage.

I am further of opinion that the Limitation Enactment does not apply to a case of this kind.

Appeal dismissed with costs.

RASINAH v. SAID.

Batang Padang Land Application No. 111 of 1925 (B.P. 2130/25)

Commissioner of Lands Appeal No. 6 of 1926 (C.L. 98/26).

Divorce—Harta sharikat.

Generally throughout Malaya, except in the Colony, a divorced wife is entitled to a share of all land acquired during coverture. The share of a Perak woman fixed at one-third, following the *State Council Minute of 1907* (p. 70) and *Teh Rasim v. Neman*, (p. 18).

This was an application to the Collector, Batang Padang, under Section 37 of the Land Enactment of 1911.

The parties were married in 1914. In 1916 they acquired from Government three acres of land (E. 3717, Chenderiang) which they planted with rubber. The title was in the name of the husband. In 1925 the husband divorced the wife.

The wife alleged that the husband had agreed to treat the property as joint property and that long before the divorce he had promised to transfer a half share to her because, during the marriage, she had assisted in the actual work of improving the land. She also said that she had paid half the rent and premium. On these grounds she claimed half the land.

1925
15 Sep.

The husband alleged :—

- (1) that he had divorced claimant for misconduct ;
- (2) that she had 3 acres of land in her own name ;
- (3) that at the time of the divorce the *kathi* had neither made an order for maintenance nor directed the wife to claim any share in the land.

At the trial the husband denied that the wife had worked on the land.

1925
17 Dec.

He also denied the alleged promise to transfer and the payment of premium and rent by the wife. Two witnesses testified that she had worked on the land.

T. P. COE, Esq., *Collector, Batang Padang* :—" The applicant applied to be registered as part-owner on two grounds :—

1926
14 Jan.
Coe, C.L.R.

- (a) that she had paid half the rent and half the premium ;
- (b) that she has shared in the work of cultivation.

2. In her application she alleged that her husband Said bin Salleh had promised to transfer a half interest to her, but at the hearing she practically withdrew this and based her claim on grounds (a) and (b) above.

3. As to (a) she has no evidence and Said denies it. Her own witness states that the rent was paid by Said.

4. As to (b) the evidence indicates that she did do some work on the land and I think it probable that she did, in spite of the

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husband's denial. There is no evidence of how much work she did (if she did any) or of the proportion between her work and that of her husband. Any such apportionment has been made the more difficult by the delay of three months between the divorce and the submission of this application and I cannot help thinking that this claim is a tentative one which suggested itself when the price of rubber rose.

5. In any case the evidence, in my opinion, is not nearly definite enough to justify partial dispossession of the registered owner who has throughout been in actual occupation of the land.

22 Feb.

Rasinah appealed to the Commissioner of Lands on the grounds that there was sufficient evidence that she worked on the land, which therefore became *hartā sharikat* which she was entitled to share on divorce.

28 April
Wyatt, C.L.

K. M. Coomarasamy for the appellant cited the *State Council Minute of 1907* and *Teh Rasim v. Neman* of which case he produced a type written copy of the record, not digested. The Commissioner adjourned the hearing in order to obtain the evidence of the *kathi* as to the dates of the marriage and divorce and as to the "Muhammadan law of division of property on divorce" (sic.)

21st July
Daly, C.L.

Coomarasamy for appellant

Sabapathy for respondent

The *Kathi*, Batang Padang, was called by consent. He proved the dates of the marriage and divorce and continued :—

"I agree with the decision of the Perak State Council (p 70). That is, in this case, Rasinah would be entitled to one-third of the land in question :—

- (a) If she helped to work and develop the land or
- (b) If she was living as wife with respondent during the time when respondent acquired this land and developed it.

No consideration would be given to the question whether the divorce arose from the fault of the man or the woman.

I know of no case which has arisen and been decided, as to this matter in Chenderiang *mukim*. I am relying on the decision of the State Council in 1907. I know of cases in Chenderiang *mukim* where, on divorce, there has been a division of *sharikat* property but only of moveable property. These cases were settled out of Court.

I cannot say what sect of Muhammadans the people of Perak belong to nor can I quote or refer to any authority as to this matter of *sharikat*, which would apply as between these parties.

I recollect only one case of division of *sharikat* property (moveables) and that was six years ago and I cannot remember the names of the parties. They lived in the mukim of Chenderiang."

Coomarasamy for appellant:—From the State Council minute and the decisions of the Supreme Court it is clear that the divorced wife is entitled to a share of any property acquired during coverture,

Teh Rasim v. Neman (p. 18).

Wan Mahatan v. Haji Abdul Samat (p. 25.)

There was sufficient evidence that Rasinah in fact helped to develop this land.

Sabapathy, for respondent, applied for leave to call further evidence to shew that during the marriage respondent had given a piece of land to appellant. (This was resisted and refused). The only reason for this application is that the price of rubber has gone up. As to *Teh Rasim v. Neman* (*supra*) the facts are different. There the woman had six children. There are no children here. (He admitted that the record does not indicate that the decision in *Teh Rasim v. Neman* was influenced by the number of children). There is no proof of how much work the wife did on the land. The Commissioner should now call for further evidence as to whether there was any division of moveable or immoveable property during coverture or on, and in consideration of, divorce.

M. D. DALY, Esq., *Commissioner of Lands*, remitted the case to the Collector to take further evidence as to whether there was any such division of property.

The respondent gave evidence as follows:—

6 Dec.
Coe, C.L.R.

"I first married appellant in 1914. I bought two pieces of land after the marriage, one piece in my name and one in my wife's (appellant's) name. I divorced her on 20th June 1925. When I divorced her she took away all her own property. I had given her pillows and mattresses and some jewellery some time before. She took all these away. When I gave her the letter of divorce she gathered together all the property in the house which she considered to be hers and left with it. . . . I made no promise to give her a share in my land at any time. I paid the premium for both the pieces of land. She has sold the piece of land I bought for her. The piece of which she now claims a share is the piece I bought for myself. It is not our custom to give a share in our land on divorce. During the time of our marriage I did some work on my wife's land. She has never helped me to work on my land.

Cross-examined by appellant.

"I deny that, at the time appellant sold her piece of land for \$19 to one Surati, I made arrangement that she should have a half share in mine."

The *Ketua Kampong* said :

" I know both appellant and respondent. I know Said paid for two pieces of land, one in his own name and one in his wife's, appellant's name. I do not know of any custom obliging a man to give his wife a share in his land in consideration of divorce. It is not the custom for the wife to give back, on divorce, jewellery given her by her husband. It is not the custom to give anything in consideration of divorce. All the property a man gives to his wife becomes hers and no question of ownership arises. A man is not bound to give his wife anything on divorce. (No questions by appellant).

An independent witness said that he had seen the appellant taking pillows and other household goods from the house, after the divorce.

The appellant said :—

" I do not know what the custom is in Perak at divorce. In Java it is customary for the man to give the woman a share in his land. In Perak I will follow Perak custom. This does not refer to moveable property. My husband only gave me a ring, and this I gave back to him. He gave me no jewellery except this ring. The property I took away from the house was one plate only. I have nothing else to say except that I hope I shall be given a share in the land I have worked on.

Cross-examined by respondent

I have no children by respondent. I returned the ring to Said because he came and asked for it. He drove me away from the house. I did work on my husband's land. I agree that this is customary for a wife "

1927
14 Feb.
Daly, C.L.

M. D. DALY, Esq., *Commissioner of Lands* :—The following are the facts of the case. Said, the respondent, married Rasinah, the appellant, on 19th August 1914. Said divorced her on 20th June 1925. Shortly after their marriage Said acquired two pieces of land. One was registered in his own name, E.M.R. 3717 Chenderiang, area 3a. 27 p. and one in the appellant's name. The appellant sold the land registered in her name. There is no evidence as to whether it was sold on joint account or otherwise. This land was, apparently, Approved Application No. 7697, area 3 acres.

There is evidence on which one could find that the appellant did some work on the land E.M.R. 3717 and I think it probable that she did so. I also think it probable that the premium and rent on both pieces of land were paid by Said, the respondent.

On divorce, I hold it as probable that the appellant removed and carried away a certain quantity of moveables. There is

nothing to show what was their value and there is no satisfactory evidence as to whether any division of property was agreed to at the time of divorce. Three months after the divorce the appellant claimed as *sharikat* a half share in E.M.R. 3717. There is no satisfactory evidence as to whether the respondent had good cause to divorce the appellant but it seems fairly clear that the divorce was at his instance. There were no children of the marriage.

As to the law which should apply in this case I note the following precedents, rulings or dicta:—

(The Commissioner referred to:—

(a) Perak State Council Minute	p. 70
(b) Teh Rasim <i>v.</i> Neman	p. 18
(c) Wan Mahatan <i>v.</i> Haji Abdul Samat	p. 25
(d) Awee <i>v.</i> Ibrahim	p. 11
(e) Ramah <i>v.</i> Alpha	p. 22
(f) Memorandum on custom in Trengganu	p. 71
(g) Wan Nab <i>v.</i> Jasin	p. 20)

It should be understood that in Kedah, whether on divorce or death, the wife or widow can claim *sharikat*. The value of her labour differs according to districts when a question of division of property arises. In varying districts her labour is assumed to be worth one quarter, one third or one half of the amount of the property extant at the time of divorce or death, in default of evidence to the contrary. Apart from the wife's labour, however, an account is supposed to be taken of what both bring into the joint fund at marriage and the value of presents between the spouses, during marriage. As there is never any reliable evidence as to these points, it is impossible for the Kedah Courts to arrive at a correct decision. *Sharikat* claims rarely come before the Kedah Courts. Over a period of six years, I do not think I could trace more than six cases. In Kedah some account is taken, of the wife's work in cooking her husband's food, washing his clothes and so on and this is reckoned as "labour" contrary to the view expressed by the *Kathi*, Larut (p. 26).

Coming to the present case I find as facts:—

- (1) that prior to her divorce the appellant was the lawful wife of the respondent;
- (2) that the land in question, E.M.R. 3717 Chenderiang, was acquired by respondent during their marriage;
- (3) that the appellant did work on the land.

I am of opinion that in law it is immaterial whether she worked on the land or not. In view of the authorities and precedents quoted I cannot accept the evidence of the *Kathi** as correct.

* Meaning apparently the *Kathi*, Batang Padang, p. 30.

I am satisfied that, in Perak and generally throughout Malaya, (except in the Colony) a divorced wife is entitled to a share of all land acquired during coverture and in view of the first two precedents quoted, I consider that the appellant should be registered as the owner of a one-third share in the land E.M.R. 3717 Chenderiang.

The respondent suggested that two pieces of land had been acquired during coverture and that the appellant had sold one piece and enjoyed the proceeds. There is not sufficient evidence to justify my concluding this to be the case but if it were, in view of the terms of the Order in Council quoted above, this would not, in my view affect the decision.

In his judgment above cited, Reay J. C. has pointed out that these *sharikat* cases are rare but that if they should increase in number it might be necessary to legislate. It is true that the cases which come before the Supreme Court are rare but if the cases which come before Collectors and go no further are reckoned in the number would, I think, prove to be appreciable. The Perak State Council Minute (p. 70) is proof that this matter was perplexing our judges as far back as 1907. In my view it is desirable to legislate *now*. The present position appears to be that the law as to *sharikat* claims varies according to the locality and the views of the particular *kathi* called in to give evidence.

Commentary.

With the greatest possible respect to the learned Commissioner it is submitted that the authorities do not justify his conclusion that the question whether the wife worked on the land is immaterial. In *Teh Rasim*, *Wan Mahalan*, *Ramah* and in this case the fact was either expressly admitted or found in favour of the wife. In *Wan Nab* the point was not raised. In *Awee* the facts were never investigated. The Perak Council Minute and Mr. Humphreys' memorandum are not detailed statements and an inference can hardly be drawn from their mere silence on this point. It appears from paragraph 10 of the Raja di Hilir's opinion (quoted on p. 42) that the State Council Minute was avowedly based on the view that the man commonly works the harder but unfortunately this information was not available to Mr. Daly.

Later cases support the view that the point is material. In each of the three Lower Perak cases (p. 48) the wife had worked on the land and her claim succeeded; in the Selangor case (p. 59) the wife had not worked and the claim of her representative failed.

Actually the point is neither abstruse nor technical—the whole question is one of a custom of agricultural peasants among whom nearly every woman in fact works on the land.

LATON v. RAMAH.

Selangor Civil Suit No. 323 of 1926.

Harta sharikat—harta sa-pencharian—divison after the death of the husband—separate property and earnings of the wife.

* Land was acquired during marriage and registered in the husband's name, part of the purchase money being provided by the wife from the income and proceeds of sale of other land owned by her before the marriage and from the profits of her trading as a cake seller during the marriage—*Held*, on the death of the husband, that the wife was entitled to one half of such property without prejudice to her right to a distributive share in the other half.

The plaintiff was married to the deceased in 1890 they appear to have been Selangor Malays. The plaintiff pleaded that all the property of the deceased was *harta sharikat* according to the Shafei school of Muhammadan law; she claimed one half of the property on that ground. She also claimed her distributive share as a widow in the other half.

The defendant, another widow of the deceased who was an administratrix of the estate jointly with the plaintiff, denied that any of the property was *harta sharikat* or that the alleged custom was properly called *harta sharikat*; she contended that the whole of the property was distributable according to Muhammadan law.

Bailey for plaintiff.

Freeman for defendant.

GOMPERTZ, C. J.—The plaintiff is the widow of Mat Dawi bin Suroh who died intestate in 1926. She sues the defendant, another widow of the intestate, and joint administrator with herself of the estate, for a declaration that all the property of the intestate at the time of his death is *harta sharikat* according to the Shafei school of Muhammadan law and that the plaintiff is therefore entitled to a half-share in that property, in addition to any share she may be entitled to in the other moiety under the Muhammadan law of inheritance. The evidence in support of her claim is that the intestate was a poor man who never had any money of his own. He appears to have worked for wages at different places and for different masters, at pay not exceeding \$30 per mensem. The plaintiff states that having been divorced by her first husband she married the intestate some 35 years ago. At the date of this marriage she was possessed, she says, of a shophouse and land at Beranang and of jewellery to the value of \$150.00 in cash. Having sold the Beranang property she bought land at Tanjong Malim which she resold at a profit later on. The land in respect of which the present claim is made

1927
9th July
Gompertz, C. J.

* This report was prepared from the original records before the case appeared in the official reports. With great respect to the learned Editor of those reports it is submitted that this headnote is more accurate than the one in 6 F.M.S. Rep. at p. 116. See also the commentary at p. 46 *infra*.

was bought, she says, partly out of the income of this and other land purchased by her from time to time, partly out of profits on resales and partly out of the profits of shops opened by her for the sale of cakes. This land was registered in the name of the intestate. Incidentally, it appears that the plaintiff has other land, some ten acres in extent, in her own name which, she says, was purchased out of the same funds as the other land. There are discrepancies and inconsistencies in her evidence but she impressed me as being honest and she is to some extent corroborated by other witnesses. One has to remember that she is a woman of the peasant class, that she is not young and that she is speaking of matters spread over a long term of years. On the whole I accept her case that the land in question, or a large portion of it was, in fact, paid for out of funds supplied by her.

The next issue presents greater difficulty. Mr. Bailey opened *harta sharikat* as meaning partnership in property. Ordinarily, he said, partnership would be evidenced by an agreement in writing made before the land is purchased or the work begun. Between husband and wife formal agreement is unusual and the partnership is evidenced by the circumstances. This type of inferred partnership is called *sharikat kasamaran*—the latter word meaning "indefinite." Mr. Bailey expressly repudiated any claim for *upah* or compensation, cf. *Haji Ramah v. Alpha*, 4 F.M.S. Rep. p. 179. (and p. 22 *supra*) I suggested to counsel that the plaintiff's claim might possibly be based on other grounds than this principle of Muhammadan law and I enquired whether he desired to amend but the suggestion was not accepted. On the Muhammadan law the plaintiff called two expert witnesses.

The first was the *kathi* of Ulu Langat. He has studied Muhammadan law in Mecca for seven years and has held his present post for 22 years. He states that *harta sharikat* is a part of Muhammadan law—*hukum shara* as known among Shafeis. The term signifies a partnership either in capital or labour. He then speaks of *upah** or compensation. Shortly he says that husband and wife are entitled to share in landed property acquired by them, or one of them, in proportion to the value of capital or labour contributed.

Mr. Bailey then put specific questions to the witness. I give the substance of question and answer.

1. A man and woman having no property marry and thereafter acquire property by their exertions. On the death of one the property is divided into two equal parts; one goes to the survivor; the other is divided according to the law of inheritance.
2. If both parties have means and their resources are pooled and their wealth increases then on the death of husband

* *Upah* is an ordinary Malay word—not a term of Muhammadan law.

or wife—if the survivor cannot agree with the heirs as to their share, each must take an oath, the oath of the person occupying the land to be final.

3. If a poor man marries a rich woman and their wealth expands, on the death of the husband—the whole estate is the wife's, none of it is *pesaka* i.e. divisible according to the law of inheritance.
4. In the same case where the husband helps to cultivate and develop the land—he gets a part as compensation.
5. In the case of property acquired after marriage by the husband's labour—on his death it becomes *pesaka*.

The witness further states that he has certain judicial powers under the law. The principles he has laid down are part of the Muhammadan law; they are not based on custom. The basis of the Muhammadan law is the *Koran*. He explains that nowhere in the *Koran* is the principle of *harta sharikat* expressly laid down. There is in fact no mention of it. But the literal meaning or express letter of the *Koran* has come to be supplemented by the spirit of the work and it is from the spirit that this principle is derived. I think that the reference is to the *Koran*, Chapter IV, Part V, verse 32: of Maulvi Mohammad Ali, 1917 edition:—“Men shall have the benefit of what they earn and women shall have the benefit of what they earn.”

The witness states that small estates in Selangor are distributed by the Collector of Land Revenue on his—the *kathi*'s certificate. The witness has dealt with 500 to 600 cases in his 22 years of service. *Harta sharikat* has been claimed perhaps five or six times but has never been allowed.* There is no “rule or regulation” accepted by the Collector.

The witness states in cross-examination that Nawawi is a great doctor of the Shafei school (It is common ground that the law of the Shafei school is applicable here). On being referred to this author's work the witness admits that neither in Book 13 dealing with partnership nor in Chapter 28 on the distribution of estates is there any reference to a partnership of this kind: nor again in the book on marriage. He states that the work is incomplete but admits that this is not apparent from the book itself. Finally at the end of his cross-examination the witness states:—

“A law ought to be passed making *harta sharikat* the law here—It is not carried out here.”

He adds in re-examination that he tried a case in Klang where the wife after divorce claimed *harta-sharikat*. He states that his judgment was that they should settle the matter amicably “dividing it by two or three as they wished.”

The next witness is the Chief Kathi of the State of Selangor who has held that post since 1914. The Chief Kathi's answers to

* Contrast the observations on pp. 33, 34 & 55.

the questions of Mr. Bailey correspond to those given by the last witness. He states:—"*Harta sharikat* as I have described it does in this country form part of the Muhammadan law. He admits that the work "*Minhaj et Talibin*" does not mention *harta sharikat* as between husband and wife but he refers to a work by Abdul Rahman bin Muhammad, a *mufti* in the Hadramaut, and cites a passage therefrom at p. 159 as follows:—

"If a property belongs to husband and wife but the share of each cannot be ascertained there is nothing to show the amount of each share and on divorce or death no one is allowed to claim his or her share unless the share of each is ascertained or until they agree. If it can be ascertained the shares are clear. If it cannot be ascertained they must wait for agreement. If the heirs divide by mutual agreement division may be equal or unequal. Both parties should be of full age. If one party puts in more labour, then division is based on amount of labour."

In cross-examination the witness states that the amount of labour contributed may be a fair test, thus if the husband does work to the value of \$700 and the wife to the value of \$300 their shares in the property will be accordingly. The witness being referred to Abdur Rahim's "*Muhammadan Jurisprudence*" page 333 replies "I cannot say if he is right. To what school does he belong?" Lower down he says:—"I don't remember a claim for *harta sharikat*, only the one last witness spoke of. Being referred to "*Minhaj et Talibin*," the Chapter on Partnership he says:—"I prefer not to give a personal opinion—I refer to the books and say what is correct." And again:—"The question of *upah* or *harta sharikat* has arisen in one case. People often ask me on the point. In my certificates of division of property I have never taken into account *upah* or *harta sharikat*."

I should point out that on question and answer (3) Mr. Bailey contends that the plaintiff is in fact entitled to the whole of the land as her own property. But she only desires to claim under the principle of (1) and (2) a half share.

Mr. Freeman for the defendant called no evidence. He points out that Mr. Bailey does not base his claim on local custom—he relies upon Muhammadan law, pure and simple. Had custom been pleaded it would have been necessary to consider if the custom was good. That is to say, it must be otherwise valid and must not be illegal as opposed to the text law, *vide* Abdul Rahim's "*Muhammadan Jurisprudence*" at page 137. He pointed out that neither in the *Koran* nor in the various learned authors on the subject cited by him (Mr. Justice Amir Ali, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, Nawawi and Tyabji) is there any recognition of the principle now contended for. Again the author relied on by the Chief Kathi, Abdul Rahman, is nowhere

referred to in any of these works. His book is not to be found among the four treatises mentioned as being authoritative for Shafei law by Mr. Justice Amir Ali—Introduction, page 1—nor is it included in the list of fourteen authorities given in Tyabji at page 83. Again both the learned *kathis* state that in their experience the principle has never been recognised by any Court and that it would not be accepted by the Collectors of Land Revenue (I suppose under section 37 (i) of the Land Enactment of 1911).

Let us see if there are any reported decisions on the subject. In the case of *Awee v. Ibrahim* reported in 1 F.M.S. Rep. at page 274 the head note is as follows:—

“Courts Enactment 1918; Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in matters regulated by Muhammadan law (*harta sharikat*).”

The plaintiff was the divorced wife of the defendant. They were married about 1908 and four years later borrowed \$115.00 and purchased a piece of land which was registered in the name of the defendant. The land was planted by them with rubber, and in 1912 was valued at \$1,200. In 1916 the defendant divorced the plaintiff who then sued, claiming that under Muhammadan law and local custom, she was entitled to a half share of the land. The learned Chief Judicial Commissioner dismissed the suit, holding that the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction, in as much as the right of H.H. the Sultan to grant authority in matters of Muhammadan divorce to *kathis* and assistant *kathis* was recognised by section 61 (now section 65) of the Courts Enactment.

The next reported case is *Haji Ramah v. Alpha*, 4 F.M.S. Rep. p. 179.* The plaintiff, widow and administratrix of Haji Mahmud, claimed, besides her share as widow in the land of the intestate, a further half-share in two pieces of land by way of compensation (*upah*) on the ground that she had helped him to open up and cultivate them. No question of jurisdiction was raised and counsel did not appear. Reay J. C. held that jurisdiction was conferred by Section 49 of the Courts Enactment and gave judgment for the plaintiff. The only real issue was one of fact, as to the work done by the plaintiff. The learned Judicial Commissioner remarked:—

“The parties clearly intended that I should follow the rule of Muhammadan law. The only evidence before me on the rule was that of the Chief Kathi. He said that if a wife helps her husband to clear or plant or even cultivate his land, she is entitled to compensation (*upah*); that it makes no difference how the husband acquired the land, that a widow can claim a share in land instead of monetary compensation and that

* p. 22 *supra*.

the share to be given to her is in the discretion of the Court. In reply to a question by me, he said:—"Every Malay wife in the country who helps her husband to plant *padi* is entitled to be paid for it, if she claims it. Usually they do not claim."

and he explained that if the wife is divorced, the husband should pay the compensation but if the husband dies, the wife's claim is against the estate. The *Kathi*, Kuala Selangor, stated that the plaintiff preferred her claim to him in the first instance and that he told her that he could not decide it and referred her to the Chief *Kathi*. He explained that he never had to deal with a claim of this nature before and agreed that it was very unusual for a wife to make such a claim."

The Straits Settlements case, *Tijah v. Mat Alli*, 4 Kyshe, p. 124, was decided in 1886.* The claim made in the Court of Requests was for \$50 and was brought by a wife for a half share of her husband's property after divorce. It was based on an alleged rule of Muhammadan law in respect of joint earnings of husband and wife. It was held that the case was not covered by the Muhammadan Marriage Ordinance of 1880 and that therefore English law applied. The report is very short and *harta sharikat* is not specially mentioned but no doubt this was the principle relied on.

I have referred to the files of two suits tried in the State of Perak which are not to be found in the Reports. In Civil Suit No. 3 of 1916 the plaintiff had been the wife of the defendant for some 23 years and was divorced by him in 1915. The plaintiff alleged that at the time of the marriage the defendant had no property; that at that date she herself was a widow and traded as a seller of jewellery. After the marriage the parties lived together and carried on the trade of jewellers. The profits of the business, being their joint earnings, were invested in land which was registered in the name of the defendant. The plaintiff proceeds:—

"By Muhammadan law as ruled by H.H. the Sultan in Council the plaintiff is entitled to one-third of the property aforesaid, *vide* para. 7 of the minutes of the State Council of 18th January 1907."

The matter was referred to Raja Chulan then Assistant Registrar for enquiry and report. The learned Referee in his finding adopts the ruling of the Perak State Council, a ruling which the Chief *Kathi* stated was an old custom revived and based upon Muhammadan law. The Referee adds:—

"The Mohammedan law of *sharikat* as it obtains in Kedah and the Malay States of the East Coast of the

* p. 15 *supra*.

Peninsula is not strictly followed by the Courts in Perak owing to the existence of the above mentioned Ruling in Council, a copy of which I append."

The minute of the Council is as follows (Perak Government Gazette 5th April 1907 page 241):—

"The Council declares and orders to be recorded that the custom of the Malays of Perak in the matter of dividing up property after divorce when such property has been acquired by the parties or one of them during marriage is to adopt the proportion of two shares to the man and one to the woman and that gifts between married persons are irrevocable either during marriage or after divorce. The Council further records its desire that the Courts shall call in the *Kathis* as advisers on principle in cases of these kinds."

A later case is Civil Suit No. 337 of 1925. The plaintiff, a divorced wife, sued the husband for a one-third share of property acquired out of their joint earnings. The matter was, by consent, referred to the same gentleman, since become the Honourable Raja di Hilir of Perak, C.M.G. and a member of the Federal Council, for enquiry and report. The learned referee in his finding refers to the Council Minute of 1907. He allows the plaintiff's claim to one-third of the landed property coming under the rule and he appends a minute written by himself on the principle of *harta sapenchari* as he prefers to call it. I give an excerpt from that minute in K.K.D. 28/22 dated 2nd June, 1922 as throwing light upon the question now before me.

"*Harta sapencharian* or *sharikat* at one time was understood by Perak Malays to be one and the same thing—only one is Malay and the other Arabic

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| 2. | * | * | * | * |
| 3. | * | * | * | * |

4. Since the death of Sultan Idris it has been held by *ulemas* here that *sapencharian* is not the same as *sharikat* because *sharikat* is an Arabic word meaning "partnership" and therefore property acquired during marriage cannot be called *sharikat* unless there is either a written or a verbal agreement to that effect.
5. The question has consequently arisen as to how *harta sapencharian* is to be determined and by what law, in case of division of property after divorce.
6. The *ulemas* say that, according to Muhammadan law, a wife is entitled to claim for labour undertaken by her during marriage, not only in assisting her husband in outdoor and household work but also for suckling the children of the marriage, if any.

7. It would however be somewhat difficult for a divorced woman to specify her claim even for a short period of marriage, say two years.
8. But the difficulty is overcome by the Muhammadan law which lays down that the Ruler has discretionary powers in carrying out certain laws of God.* For this reason, and to save trouble and expense in litigation in regard to the claims by women, the *adat* of *sapencharian* is made allowable by Muhammadan law when given force by the Ruler of a State.
9. In this respect I enclose for your information a ruling made by the late Sultan Idris in Council regarding *harta sapencharian* or property acquired during marriage and the division thereof.
10. Although in most Muhammadan countries east of India the division is in equal shares, the late Sultan Idris contended that a man generally works harder than a woman and should get more for his share. Hence it was ruled in Council that the proportion should be two-thirds to the man and one-third to the woman.
11. As the ruling in Council has not been cancelled by the present Ruler that order, I think, holds good unless perhaps it is necessary by law for H.H. to confirm his late father's ruling.
12. It is curious to observe, however, that the late Sultan Idris made no mention of claim to *harta sapencharian* after the death of either party, the woman, as the law at present stands, getting only what she is entitled to under the law of inheritance (*pesaka*) in case of her husband's death and losing her claim to what she had earned during her marriage†

So much for local cases.

* There is of course, no authority for this proposition in Muhammadan law. It is a characteristic expression of the *Adat Temenggong*.

† With profound respect to the late Raja Sir Chulan it is submitted that he was mistaken here. The declaratory part of the resolution of the State Council (set out in full on p. 70 *infra*.) expressly deals with the case of divorce only. The desire that the *Kathis* should be consulted in such cases shows that the Council did not consider this resolution exhaustive. It would be wrong to construe this as excluding a claim by a widow to a share of *harta sa-pencharian*. On the contrary it affords authority for deciding such claims on similar principles.

It is certain that in practice the vast majority of Malay widows have succeeded to substantially more than one-eighth of the joint property.

I refer next to that well-known work "The Achehnese" by Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. The learned author states at page 365:—

"In districts where it is the custom for the wife to assist the husband in his employment, the property accumulated during the marriage by their respective toil is in the event of a divorce divided in equal shares between the man and the woman or their respective heirs.

Where one of the two dies, the survivor obtains, in addition to this half share, his lawful portion of the heritable property to which the other half of their common earnings is regarded as belonging. Thus we find in Acheh the same peculiarity that exists in Java and Madura and most Malayan countries *viz.* that where the woman is the fellow-worker of her husband, there gradually grows up a kind of partnership between the two."

Again Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, in "Papers on Malay Subjects" at page 54 remarks as follows:—

"The Moslem check on hasty divorce is the *mahr*. The old Indonesian check seems to have been what is known as the *sharikat*.

In districts where the dowry is more or less fixed by convention we find that a divorced wife or widow has a claim on her husband's property to the extent of one-third of their joint earnings.

The fact is that ancient Malay custom gives a woman a better status than she gets from Moslem theory."

It seems clear I think, from the materials which I have collected above that there does exist—in some at any rate of the Malay countries—a rule of law which amounts very much to the principle contended for by Mr. Bailey. I use the word law and not custom because on the evidence it seems to me that the principle exists, if it does exist, not in a particular neighbourhood or locality but in the whole State and it is alleged to govern not particular persons but every member of the public—that is to say all Malay Muhammadans subject to the law of the State. To use an English parallel "a custom cannot extend to the whole realm nor can it embrace every member of the public for, in either case, it would then amount to the Common Law of the land" (10 Halsbury page 219). If this principle has become part of the common law of some or all of the Malay countries in the Far East and if the *kathis*, the recognised authorities in this field, vouch for it as good law it seems to be idle to contend that it is not in accordance with the literal wording of the *Koran* and therefore bad—or again that it is not law because it is not mentioned by the authorities, mostly Indian jurists, to be found in the Court library. It is undoubtedly the law in some jurisdictions. Hurgronje states it to be the law in Acheh. The Raja

di Hilir speaks of the principle "as it obtains in Kedah and the Malay states of the east coast of the peninsula." The same gentleman observes, para 12 of his minute referred to above, speaking of course of the law in Perak:—

"The woman as the law at present stands, getting only what she is entitled to under the law of inheritance (*pesaka*) in case of her husband's death and losing her claim to what she had earned during her marriage."

He also says, paragraph 8:—

"The *adat* of *sapencharian* is made allowable by Muhammadan law when given force by the Ruler of a State."

It is interesting to note that the Hon'ble the Rajah di Hilir, a member of the Ruling House of the State of Perak, should consider that for the reasons given no claim to *harta sapencharian* is allowed in favour of the survivor on the death of husband or wife in that State. I cannot find that in Selangor there has been any pronouncement as to the rights of a widow or a widower in *harta sapencharian*. The rights of the parties on a divorce were considered by the State Council in 1924 it was agreed that the *kathis* should exercise jurisdiction to a limit of \$500 and that the Chief Kathi should have unlimited jurisdiction.

Now the *Kathi* of Ulu Langat giving evidence before me as an expert in Muhammadan law and speaking of the rights of the survivor of a marriage stated:—

"A law ought to be passed making *harta sharikat* the law here. It is not carried out here."

When, however, the evidence of each of these learned men, the *kathis*, is read as a whole, as of course it must be read, it is clear that these witnesses desired to convey to the Court their considered opinion that this principle of *harta sharikat* as part of the Muhammadan law is in force in Selangor. They agree that a claim of this kind is rarely brought by a widow but they have no doubt that the claim exists. When they state that the law is not carried out in this jurisdiction they mean, I think, that the principle has not been embodied in a statute and that it would not therefore be recognised by Collectors.* Or again they may consider that the principle is in some manner in conflict with the Registration of Titles Enactment. If they mean this they are, I think, mistaken. There is no essential conflict but a claimant's rights would no doubt be subject to the provisions of that Enactment. Nor I think is there anything in the admission that they have never taken this principle into account in giving a certificate for the distribution of the estate of a deceased.* In the case of death the survivor would be asserting a claim, whether real or personal, against the estate which must be decided before it is known what assets are available for distribution. Such an

* As to Collectors' cases, see pp. 34, 55 and e.g. Wan Mahatan's case, p. 25.

issue would seem, I speak with great deference, to lie outside the jurisdiction of a *kathi*. It would have to be decided by the appropriate tribunal. I may say that I find great difficulty in following the reasoning of the learned Chief Judicial Commissioner in the suit reported in 1 F.M.S. Rep. at page 274. The report is very meagre. Possibly the real issue was never adequately laid before the Court. If the decision is read to mean that the question of the subsistence claimed by a divorced wife is within the jurisdiction of a *kathi* and not within that of the Court, then with great respect I think that it is probably unimpeachable. If on the other hand it decides that the question of *harta sharikat* in its broadest sense is not cognizable by the Civil Courts then I admit that I prefer the reasoning of Reay J. C. in *Haji Ramah v. Alpha*, 4 F.M.S. Rep. at page 181. Possibly the Legislature may consider it advisable to declare and codify the law on this subject either for the Federation as a whole or for the several states of the Federation.

To come back to the case for decision, I find that the plaintiff claims that all the property of the deceased is *harta sharikat*. The evidence seems to show that the principle applies only to lands. I think that the proper declaration will be that the plaintiff is entitled to one half in value of the immovable property of the deceased at the time of his death as *harta sharikat*. This right will be subject, of course, to the rights of third persons under the Land Registration Enactment and the Land Enactment and will be without prejudice to her rights as a widow in the residue of the estate.

Costs of both parties out of the estate: Order to be settled in Chambers if necessary.

From this judgment the defendant appealed to the Court of Appeal:—

Held, (by a majority, ACTON and THORNE J.J., FARRER-MANBY J. *dissentiente*) that inasmuch as Muhammadan law is the law of the Federated Malay States it is not "foreign law" within the meaning of the Evidence Ordinance and evidence as to *harta sharikat* was therefore improperly admitted. *Held* also that even if the Muhammadan law was "foreign law" the evidence actually given before the trial judge was not admissible because the books on which the *kathis* based their evidence did not comply with Section 38 of the Evidence Ordinance.

The case was therefore sent back for retrial with a suggestion that it should be referred to a special referee but eventually the parties arrived at a settlement and a consent order was made.

Note.—The judgments of the Court of Appeal are reported in 6 F.M.S. Report at p. 128.

This decision led to a change in the law, as to which see p. 12]

Commentary.

1. The sole subject-matter of the suit was land and it is therefore submitted that the observation on page 37 "The evidence seems to shew that the principle applies only to lands" is an *obiter dictum*.

2. The Chief Justice found as a fact that the land in dispute was purchased out of a fund largely derived from :—

- (a) the wife's ante-nuptial property ;
- (b) the wife's personal earnings during the marriage.

Now whatever the law applicable to the former may be, the question is plainly not one of "joint earnings". In so far therefore as the estate of the deceased was derived from this source the plaintiff was clearly entitled to claim it in her own separate right and no question of *harta sharikat* or "joint earnings" could properly be raised.

The matter was complicated by the fact that the actual ante-nuptial property had been sold at a profit during the marriage and the gross proceeds merged in the other property and the question therefore arose whether this profit ranked as separate property or as joint earnings. The third and fourth answers of the *kathi* (on p. 45) are to the effect that in so far as the profit was due to general increase in the value of land (*i.e.* capital appreciation or "unearned increment") it ranked as separate property and in so far as it was due to the husband's labour he, or his representatives, would be entitled to a share. No express evidence was given as to whether the wife's personal earnings rank as joint or separate property and the evidence as to the husband's personal earnings was conflicting.

In the circumstances, it was wholly impossible to ascertain how much of the property was derived from the different sources so it would have been impossible to divide the estate in proportion to the sources except in a very rough and arbitrary manner.

3. At the outset the plaintiff's counsel repudiated any claim for *upah* so it seems clear that the wife did not work on the land and her profits from the sale of cakes cannot have been great. It was proved that the husband worked for wages and no mention is made of any cultivation by him. It follows that very little of the property could have been derived from the personal earnings of either spouse. The estate was therefore mainly derived from the wife's ante-nuptial property with accretions due to the immense enhancement of land values between 1890 and 1926 and only a small proportion of it can have been "joint earnings".

4. The wife had ten acres of land elsewhere, bought out of the same fund but registered in her own name. If she was entitled to one half of the land in dispute because it was "jointly earned" it is difficult to see why she was not required to divide

the other ten acres in the same way. This question was not raised and does not appear to have been considered by the Chief Justice.

5. It is submitted that neither Muhammadan law nor Malay custom ever contemplated such economic conditions as have prevailed in Malaya during this century and the real truth of the matter is that the parties and the Court were, perhaps unconsciously, struggling to solve a dispute by applying rules and principles based on widely different conditions. It was as though a claim arising out of an aeroplane accident were litigated according to the law of collisions at sea.

6. The passage on law and custom (p. 43) is not entirely clear. The Court of Appeal and the Editor of the law Reports read this as conveying that in the opinion of the trial Judge the rule as to *harta sharikat* or *sa-pencharian* is a rule of Muhammadan law. The *kathis* certainly said that in their opinion the rule was a rule of Muhammadan law but the cross-examination shewed that they were mistaken and the Chief Justice really found that the rule is "part of the common law of some or all of the Malay countries". The "parallel" with English law, however, is not a very close one because the Malay States are in a very different stage of development and their population is not homogeneous. The word "custom" in the evidence is a translation of *adat* which does not exactly correspond with any one of the three kinds of unwritten English law, namely common law, custom and usage. The Article cited in Halsbury (Vol. 10, p. 2 of the Hailsham Edition) shows that the word "custom" is itself ambiguous in English; strictly it denotes exclusively an immemorial local custom but even the highest legal authorities have used it to denote habits and usages which are not customs in this sense. The agricultural law of landlord and tenant commonly called "customs of the country" are really usages.

7. It is unfortunate that the learned Chief Justice accepted the incorrect statements of the *kathis* to the effect that Collectors would not recognise the principle of *harta sharikat*. Had he consulted any experienced Collector or the Commissioner of Lands the materials collected by Mr. Daly (p. 33) would have been made available to him.

Re ELANG dec.
Re KULOP DEGOR dec.
LEBAR v. NIAT.

*Lower Perak Distribution Suits Nos. 11 of 1927, 42 of 1928 and Land Case
No. 3 of 1929.*

Divorce—death of husband—harta sharikat—harta sa-pencharian.

In the Perak River *kampongs* the property acquired during a marriage is divided between the parties on divorce or on the death of either spouse. If the wife assisted in actual cultivation she can claim half the property—otherwise her share is smaller. The rule is a rule of Malay custom, not of Muhammadan law, and the property is apportioned roughly, having regard to the circumstances of family.

These three cases were heard together. The facts sufficiently appear from the judgment.

1929
2 Oct.
Taylor, C.L.R.

E. N. TAYLOR, Esq. *Collector and Deputy Registrar, Lower Perak*:—All these cases raise the issue called *harta sharikat*; the two Distribution Suits originally came before my predecessor more than a year ago and were adjourned *sine die* pending consideration by the State Council of questions arising out of the Supreme Court Case *Laton v. Ramah* (to which I shall refer again) but it became necessary to dispose of these suits without waiting for a possible change in the law and I therefore ordered them to be set down for further hearing and a new case, which raises another aspect of the same question, was brought to trial at the same time. Each of the three cases was heard in the *mukim* where the parties reside; evidence of both fact and custom was recorded in each and judgment was reserved in order that the whole subject might be considered.

D. S. 11/27 was an application for distribution of the estate of Elang bin Nordin, late of Kampong Gajah, who died at Mecca during the pilgrimage of 1927. This deceased was married twice. By his first wife he had one son, Dapat bin Elang; there were no children of the second marriage. The second wife, Haji Fatimah, accompanied deceased to Mecca and paid for his funeral there. When she returned she found that her step-son, Dapat, had already applied for distribution, and she contests the application.

The applicant pleads that a quantity of jewellery, of which particulars are given, is part of the estate. This issue being an issue of fact I will deal with it at once. The applicant admits that none of this jewellery ever belonged to his mother—it was all acquired during the second marriage; part was female jewellery given by the deceased to Haji Fatimah and worn by her, and part was gold not made up into ornamental articles. The widow says that the gold was used for the pilgrimage to Mecca and that she pawned the rest to pay the expenses of the funeral of the deceased and of her own return journey. The applicant did not go to Mecca, and there is no evidence except that of the parties. In

these circumstances I accept the widow's statement—which is inherently probable—and hold that the jewellery is not part of the estate.

The estate consists of one lot of rice land valued at \$50 and a quarter share (according to the register 5/18) in a rubber lot—the share being valued at \$600; both lots were acquired during the second marriage, and it is admitted that Haji Fatimah actually worked on the land. The applicant claims division according to Muhammadan law. He admits that he does not know what share the widow should get on this basis.

(Actually there is no doubt about the Muhammadan rule of distribution where a deceased leaves a widow and a son or sons, and no other near relatives; the widow takes $\frac{1}{8}$ and the sons share the balance equally).

The widow claims a share in the land on the ground of *harta sharikat* and also a share in the residue on the ground of succession (*pesaka*).

This case presents a further and somewhat unusual feature. The widow, unable to endure the long delay to which I referred in the first paragraph instituted a suit against Dapat before the *Kathi* of Kampong Gajah. The *Kathi* referred the matter to the Chief *Kathi* of Perak (presumably because the amount claimed was beyond a *kathi's* jurisdiction). The Chief *Kathi* came to Kampong Gajah and having heard the parties, held that the widow was entitled to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the interest in land valued at \$600; he declared that Dapat must pay \$200 to the widow if he claimed the land or else she could pay \$400 to him and he could transfer the land to her. It does not appear which of them was to elect—probably the Chief *Kathi* left them to settle that between themselves. The *Kathi* of Kampong Gajah (who seems to have acted as it were as a Registrar) issued a formal memorandum of judgment, in Malay, which amounts to a simple money decree in favour of the widow, against Dapat, for \$200. The widow applied to the Magistrate, Teluk Anson, to enforce this decree under section 68 of the Courts Enactment. No copy of the Record was supplied; the Magistrate issued a judgment debtor summons, and the parties appeared but the matter was adjourned for enquiry. It was ascertained that the jurisdiction clause of the *kuasa* of the *Kathi*, Kampong Gajah, reads as follows:—

“ We authorise the *Kathi* to enquire into any claim for the payment or repayment of *mas kawin* or for the payment of subsistence money subsequent to a divorce and to give judgment on such claims for any sum not exceeding \$125 ” [Pk. 1167/25.]

The memorandum of judgment was signed and sealed by the *Kathi* of Kampong Gajah and did not shew that the Chief *Kathi* had officiated.

The Magistrate then issued formal notices to the parties to appear on the judgment debtor summons at Kampong Gajah on the same day as was fixed for the Distribution Suit and referred the matter to me; as I am also a Magistrate for the State I had jurisdiction to deal with this judgment debtor summons and I gave judgment thereon as follows:—

At Kampong Gajah,

11th September, 1929.

(*Teluk Anson Civil Suit 251/29.*)

Parties in person.

It is admitted that the claim for \$200 for which judgment was given was a claim for *harta sharikat* and that it does not prejudice the plaintiff's claim to a share in the estate of Elang, dec., on other grounds (D. S. 11/1927).

It is also admitted that the claim was against the defendant as representative of the deceased Elang and did not purport to be against the defendant himself.

As the defendant was not the legal representative of the deceased at the date of the trial of the suit before the Chief Kathi the decree is irregular but probably the defendant failed to plead that he was not the representative, and the Chief Kathi (who is not educated in English) probably misconceived the position.

Though I have no power of revision of the Chief Kathi's order I cannot enforce a decree which I hold to be irregular.

I am of opinion that the rights of the decree holder under this decree are extinguished by merger in the order for distribution in D.S. 11/27.

This application for execution is therefore dismissed.*

Since my return from Kampong Gajah I have perused the *kuasa* of the Chief Kathi. The only clause relating to jurisdiction reads:—

"We authorise the *Kathi* to enquire into any claim for the payment or repayment of *mas kawin* or for the payment of subsistence money subsequent to a divorce and to give judgment for any sum not exceeding \$1,000."
[Pk. 1636/21.]

The jurisdiction of the Chief Kathi differs from that of the local *Kathi* only as to the monetary limit. It is no wider in scope. Now this case was in no way connected with either *mas kawin* or alimony, so the Chief Kathi was plainly wrong in enter-

* This dismissal was set aside by Prichard, J., apparently on technical grounds, and the decree sent back to the Magistrate at Teluk Anson for execution.

taining the claim. The Malay version of the *kuasa* is just as plain as the English :—

“.....membicarakan atas hal bayaran mas kawin dan fasal bayaran nafkah perumpuan.”

Even if there had not been a distribution suit already pending the *Kathi* would have had no authority to entertain what was in substance and in fact a claim to a share in land and his assumption of jurisdiction in such matters appears likely to lead to serious complications.

D.S. 42/28 was an application for distribution of the estate of Kulop Degor bin Lahmat who died at Pasir Salak in 1927. This deceased also was married twice and left two daughters and two sons, all adult, issue of the first marriage, and an adult daughter and two minor sons, issue of the second marriage. The eldest daughter died before the trial and is represented by her minor daughter. In 1909, during the first marriage, the deceased became the proprietor of an orchard, E.M.R. 396 Pasir Salak ; this land was fully planted before the second marriage took place. In 1926 the deceased transferred a half-share in this lot to the second wife “for natural love and affection”. At the trial the widow swore that she paid \$100 to her two step sons on account of this transfer. As the alleged payees were not, and could not be, parties to the registered instrument I do not think that this oral evidence is excluded by the document. The sons did not admit the payment, but they did not deny it on oath and I hold that the money was paid. About 1914, the deceased and his second wife, applied for, and obtained from Government, a new lot of land, E.M.R. 1572, which they cleared and planted with rubber. It is admitted by the issue of the first marriage that the second wife did in fact work with her own hands in the cultivation of this land. About 1925 the deceased bought another lot which is still under jungle. The estate therefore consists of the half-share in the orchard, the rubber lot, the jungle lot, a house and a boat.

The widow claims half the rubber land for herself on the ground that it is partnership land—*tanah kongsi*—she also claims, on the ground of inheritance, shares for her own children *pari passu* with those of the first marriage and a share for herself as widow in the residue of the estate. The sons of the first marriage, but not the daughter, contest the widow's claim to half the rubber lot. The claim of the issue of the second marriage is not contested.

L.C. 3/29 under section 107 Land Code, is an application by Lebar binti Hussin for transmission to herself of a half-share in each of five lots of land at Sungei Durien registered in the name of Niat bin Khatib Sutan. The parties were married to one another about fifteen years ago. They bought a piece of rice land, and three

years later the respondent divorced the applicant, but gave her no share in the land and no money. However, after about a year, the parties were reconciled and remarried. They had the rice land planted with rubber; they acquired from Government a new piece of land which they planted with coconuts, but unsuccessfully; they bought a half-share in a piece of land already planted with mature rubber and two other lots of new land, which adjoin, and one of which was planted with fruit trees by each party. About three years ago the respondent divorced the applicant a second time and married another woman. He gave the applicant no share in the land—he even ejected her from the lot which she had planted with her own hands. He gave her no money. At the time of the divorce she sued him before the *Kathi* for subsistence money for herself and her children and obtained a decree but it was never satisfied, though he was committed to the civil prison. (Apparently she never sought to attach the land; the road of justice is indeed rough for an illiterate woman without advice). The applicant claims one half of the five lots of land—all of which are in her former husband's name—on the ground that they are *harta sa-pencharian*, i.e. "jointly earned", and in her evidence she said "a woman does her share of the work when she suckles and brings up the children"; I take this to mean that she considers herself entitled to half the land irrespective of whether she worked on it or not.

(The allusion to suckling is due to Muhammadan influence. The woman had picked up some reference to the "rule" of Muhammadan law mentioned in the Raja di Hilir's minute (paragraph 6) reproduced in the judgment of Gompertz C. J. (*supra* p. 41). That "rule" applied to a state of society where the wives of the property owning class were supposed to have slaves to nurse the children and has no more value here than had the mediaeval procedure by "appeal of felony" when that was sought to be revived in 1817.*)

The woman did in fact work on the land with her own hands—there was no attempt to controvert her evidence on this point and it is abundantly clear from the case as a whole that the real basis of her claim is local custom. The respondent's case was mere passive resistance. He said that when he first married the applicant he already owned a piece of land in another *mukim*, that he sold it about a month after the marriage for \$400 and that all the other lands were bought out of this fund. He called no witnesses, and seeing that the lands were purchased over a period of many years the story is highly improbable. The *Ketua Kampung* directly negatived the statement that respondent owned any land before the marriage. I therefore find as facts that all

* In Abraham Thornton's case, see Wills on Circumstantial Evidence (6 Edn. 1912) at p. 299.

the lands in question were acquired during the marriage and that the wife assisted in the actual cultivation.

In order to dispose of these three actions it is necessary to answer the questions :—

I. If a *kampung* Malay and his wife jointly acquire property, what rules govern its distribution :—

(a) on divorce, and

(b) on death of the husband ?

II. Does it make any difference if the wife actually worked on the land ?

The property is to be distributed "according to the law, or custom having the force of the law, applicable to the deceased (The Probate and Administration Enactment, section 184 III). What is the law, or custom, of the Perak Malays ?

Now the first key to all law is History. The Peninsular Malays came from Sumatra—some of them brought with them the pure matriarchal law and all of them are to some extent affected by matriarchal principles. (Wilkinson's "Introductory Sketch" on Law, Wilken on "Malayan Sociology"—both published in the series of Government "Papers on Malay Subjects"). At a much later period they accepted the Muhammadan religion but they never adopted the whole of the Muhammadan law in place of their traditional or common law.

"The Malays profess to accept the legal teachings of Islam—they pretend to regard the *adat* as explanatory of Moslem law or as supplementary to it. All this is mere fiction". (*Wilkinson, op. cit.* at p. 2).

We are concerned therefore not with Muhammadan law as expounded by Arabic jurists but with a curious combination of such parts of the ancient traditional or customary law of the Malays as have been preserved and such parts of the Muhammadan law as have been superimposed, and which is shortly, but not very accurately, described in the Enactment (§ 173) as "Muhammadan law as varied by local custom."

The only reported cases with any bearing on the subject are *Awee v. Ibrahim* (I. F.M.S. Rep. 274) and *Haji Ramah v. Alpha* IV F.M.S. Rep. 179 and *supra* p. 22) and neither is of much assistance here. Of more value is the judgment of Gompertz C. J. in *Laton v. Ramah*, not yet reported (VI F.M.S. Rep. p. 116 and *supra* p. 35). As this was a Selangor case, and as the decision did not stand, it is not an authority but it need not be disregarded.

"Not altogether to the point,
Nor yet too far beside,
Some *dicta*—not decisive quite—
May help one to decide."

The decision of the Court of Appeal was that oral evidence of the Muhammadan law is inadmissible but this clearly does not exclude evidence of local custom which is made relevant by Sections 48 and 49 of the Evidence Ordinance. The Supreme Court not infrequently orders evidence of such matters to be taken (see, for instance, *Innes* on Land Registration at page 285) and in an unreported case very similar to those before me and decided since the appeal in *Luton v. Ramah*, Burton, J. admitted evidence of a local custom as to inheritance, (N.S.C.A. 21/28). I therefore decided to record evidence as to the local custom, if any, prevailing among the people concerned, and in the three trials six witnesses were examined. Three of them were *penghulus* of the *mukims* in or near to which the parties resided, two were *Ketua Kampong* (i.e. elected unofficial headmen) and one was an old man of the neighbourhood and (like all the others) independent of the parties. In their evidence there is naturally, some variation but on all the main points there is remarkable consensus.

The first of these witnesses was the *Ketua Kampong* of Sungai Durien, who was called in the divorce case primarily as to facts; his first sentence was characteristic. "All the property" he said "is *harta sharikat*—*sama sama kerja, sama sa-penchari*"; (together they worked and together they acquired property). Now this one sentence contains the gist of the question at issue. *Harta sa-pencharian* is a well known customary term and the witness went on to say that on divorce, if the parties follow the custom, (*bagi adat*) they divide such property equally; these witnesses had never been to Mecca; they do not pretend to know the Muhammadan law;—indeed several of them expressly disclaimed such knowledge. It is abundantly clear from the evidence of them all that the basis of these claims is local *adat*. Somehow or other they have picked up the Arabic term *harta sharikat* but they use it to denote a purely Malayan idea.

"Error says Bentham" is never so difficult to be destroyed as when it has its roots in language.—Every improper term contains the germ of fallacious propositions; it forms a cloud which conceals the nature of the thing and presents a frequently invincible obstacle to the discovery of truth".*

In my opinion it is this improper term *harta sharikat* that has caused all the confusion and difficulty. *Sharikat* is the word in current use in the F.M.S. for a co-operative society and *harta sharikat* ought to mean, and probably in some contexts does mean, "property of a co-operative society". I doubt whether the term is found in Muhammadan law. In the evidence recorded by Gompertz C. J. we read: "Nowhere in the Koran is the principle of *harta sharikat* laid down. There is, in fact, no mention of it".

The materials collected by the learned Chief Justice make it perfectly clear to me that what has happened is this. The *kathis*

* "On Evidence", Book III Ch. I.

in Malaya found themselves confronted with an established custom which is based on the traditional, pre-Muhammadan, Malayan law, and which is not found in the Arabic jurists who deal with entirely different sociological circumstances. The custom, however, is not repugnant to the principles of the Koran and the religious authorities have no reason to try to subvert it. But the *kathis* are not highly educated men and instead of simply declaring the custom to be good they contrive to deduce the custom from general words in the Koran, and "argue that the express letter of the law has come to be supplemented by the spirit of the work." This muddled reasoning is exactly what Wilkinson describes in the passage already cited (page 53 *supra*).

The reason why so many years have elapsed without this confusion being cleared up is that that the Muhammadan law, being a religious law, attaches great importance to agreement among believers. The rules for distribution of the estates of deceased persons are not meant to be applied rigidly or even generally but only to settle the disputes which must occasionally arise. Provided that the parties can arrange a compromise they can share the estate in any proportions they please. Consequently the country Malays have for many years been in the habit, and still are in the habit, of distributing estates on customary lines while purporting to follow Muhammadan law. In the vast majority of Collectors' cases the family have already agreed on a division before any application is made. The Collector has merely to satisfy himself that due notice has been given and that any infant beneficiaries are provided for, and he usually affirms the *pakat* and registers the distribution forthwith. Gompertz C. J. seems to have accepted the *kathis'* statements that Collectors do not act on the principle of *harta sharikat*. With all respect to the learned Chief Justice I venture to doubt whether the *kathi's* evidence as to what Collectors do is entitled to much weight. I have no personal experience of Selangor cases but I have dealt with some hundreds of cases in Perak and I must negative the view that the principle in question does not operate. In actual practice the Collectors very seldom have occasion to refer to the *kathi*. I myself have never once done so; moreover, in addition to the cases actually tried before me, my daily work as a registering officer has required me to examine the records of many cases decided by my predecessors and references to the *kathi* are few and far between.* The *kathi* of Kuala Selangor said he had dealt with about two cases a month over the last 22 years. The Collector there has probably dealt with at least ten times that number.

The evidence of the six witnesses who were examined before me establishes that in the Perak River *kampongs* there is a custom, almost invariably followed, by which on divorce the property acquired during the marriage is divided between the parties—the

* This is true of some districts but not of all. In Kuala Kangsar, for instance, many cases were referred to the *kathis*.

division depends on circumstances and is arranged by the two families and the *Ketua Kampung*; if the woman assisted in the actual cultivation she can claim half. If she did not work on the land she receives a smaller share—perhaps one-third. If a man of this class earns a salary (e.g. as a Government servant) and property is bought out of his earnings the wife's share is one third.* If the marriage is dissolved by death the same rule applies—the survivor takes a half or a third as the case may be, and the balance devolves on all the children of the deceased, irrespective of whether they are the children of the marriage of acquisition. I did not put the question whether the widow takes also $\frac{1}{8}$ of the other moiety, for the simple reason that this share (it is $\frac{1}{8}$ only against a child—it is $\frac{1}{4}$ in other cases) depends on the Muhammadan law, and evidence thereof would not have been admissible. In my opinion it would have been of no value in any case. These mathematical fractions must not be taken very seriously. The custom applies to an agricultural community and the property affected is almost invariably land. The woman gets about half or perhaps something less—if there is one piece of land she has half—if there are three lots of about the same size she probably has one—if there is one rubber lot,—worth say \$500 and one *kampung* lot containing the house and worth \$150 to \$200 she probably has the *kampung* lot only. It is, on these lines that the *pakuts* are arranged in the undisputed cases.

It was stated by one witness that if the woman seeks the divorce she gets nothing, but I do not think it is necessary or feasible to investigate this complication, which would involve digressing into the Muhammadan law of divorce. The rule is a customary rule and must be subject to a few exceptions, for if there were no exceptions at all it would amount to a general law. It is sufficient to say that the rule applies to the normal case of divorce by *talak*.

It has sometimes been said that this claim can be made on divorce but not after the death of the husband. This is a misunderstanding due to confusion of two distinct cases. If the woman is divorced but does not claim forthwith and the man dies later (perhaps after being married to several subsequent wives) then the divorced woman's claim is barred. Apart from the custom it would be bad then in a Court or before a Collector for even if not barred by limitation it would be defeated by laches. If, on the other hand, the marriage of acquisition subsists till the death of the husband then the woman's claim is against the estate.

It has also been stated that "gifts during marriage are irrevocable"; this means that if, as in the case of *Elang supra*, a husband gives e.g. jewellery to his wife, the articles given become

* So the witnesses said but the point is not material to this judgment because none of the men in question had been a salary-earner. Compare the opinion of the *kathi* Larut (para 3 on p. 27, which also was *obiter*) and the decision in *Re Noorijah dec.* p. 59.

the property of the wife and she cannot be required to bring them into hotch-pot on distribution of the estate of her husband.

It remains to apply to the three cases before me the custom which I have held to be proved.

In D.S. 11/27 the jewellery was disposed of and would belong to the wife in any event ; she does not want the rice land. The dispute relates solely to the 5/18 (or, as the parties say, 1/4) share in the rubber lot, which share is valued at \$600. Now the *Penghulu* of the *mukim* (who was not present at the trial before the Chief Kathi) was of opinion, and I entirely agree with him, that the Chief Kathi was in fact applying the custom (*adat*), and did not intend his decision to cover the widow's rights of inheritance. Having regard to the principles set out on page 56 (*supra*) it would be absurd further to complicate the register with fractions unintelligible to the proprietors, so by way of final distribution in this case I order that the 5/18 share of the deceased in E.M.R. 866 Kampong Gajah be distributed as follows :—

Haji Fatimah binti Kandar	..	3/18
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Dapat bin Elang	2/18.
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E.M.R. 1635 will be transmitted to Dapat alone. The applicant Dapat will also be appointed administrator with a view to recovery of an alleged debt of \$100 due to the deceased. The chattels scheduled to the application are not part of the estate. The value for purposes of duty is \$750 and the estate duty fee of \$7.50 will be paid by the applicant.

In D.S. 42/28 I think the widow may reasonably receive a 1/3 share in the rubber lot for herself on the ground of *harta sa-pencharian* and 1/3 as trustee for her own children. The remaining 1/3 and the unplanted land will go to the sons of the first marriage, and the half share in the orchard will go to the daughters of the first marriage. This distribution is as nearly in accordance with the Muhammadan fractions as the circumstances of the case admit. The widow must pay the duty fee which amounts to \$7 on a valuation of \$700.

The division in L.C. 3/29 is somewhat complicated by the facts that the man had done some cultivation during the long delay between the final divorce and the hearing of the case and that the parties are still on such bad terms that co-ownership of the land in undivided shares is certain to lead to disputes and probably to litigation ; after further hearing the parties on these issues I held that the woman should have the two *kampong* lots and the man the rubber and the remaining *kampong* lot. (The man had sold the fifth lot after the divorce and retained the entire proceeds.)

ALANG MEAH (as trustee for Sapiah) —Appellant.
against

- (1) TEH —Respondents.
(2) TEH as trustee for Abu Salleh

Perak Civil Appeal No. 27 of 1931.

Divorce—Muhammadan law—conditional promise void.

An undertaking given by a husband at the time of divorce to transfer land to a child of the dissolved marriage, if conditional on the child attaining majority, is void.

Kulop Mat Yaman was married to Alang Meah by whom he had one daughter, Sapiah. He divorced Alang Meah and during the proceedings before the *kathi* he entered into an undertaking to transfer a piece of land to Sapiah upon her coming of age. Later he married Teh by whom he had one son, Abu Salleh. Kulop Mat Yaman died and on a petition for distribution of the estate the Collector transmitted the land in the following shares :—

- One quarter to Teh ;
One half to Teh as trustee for Abu Salleh ;
One quarter to Alang Meah, as trustee for Sapiah.

Alang Meah, as trustee for Sapiah, appealed.

The Judge referred to the State Council the following questions :—

- (1) Was the undertaking valid under the Muhammadan law ?
- (2) If valid, should it take effect to the entire exclusion of the son and/or widow ?
- (3) If the latter were not excluded, was the Collector's distribution correct or to what shares were the parties entitled ?

THE SULTAN of PERAK in COUNCIL decided :—

- (1) That the undertaking was not valid according to Muhammadan law as it was made conditional on the daughter attaining majority ;
- (2) That as the undertaking was not valid the second question did not require an answer ;
- (3) That according to *hukom shara'* the shares should be :—
3/24 to the widow, Teh.
7/24 to the daughter, Sapiah.
14/24 to the son, Abu Salleh.

Pk. G. 406/32).

Note.—The record of the reference does not shew the Collector's grounds for holding that the undertaking was invalid or why he awarded a quarter to the widow instead of one-eighth. The rule is that where the deceased leaves a child the widow takes one-eighth and in other cases one-fourth

RE NOORIJAH, dec.

Ulu Selangor Distribution Suit No. 21 of 1934.

Civil Appeal No. 44 of 1934.

Harta sapencharian—land acquired during marriage of salary earner—wife not working on the land—all the land registered in the wife's name—not sufficient evidence of gift to the wife.

The deceased was the wife of a public servant. She left eleven lots of mukim register land registered in her own name. Her husband filed an application for distribution. The Collector issued the routine instruction to the *Penghulu* to inspect and value the land and (also, apparently, as a matter of routine) he wrote to the *Kathi* as follows :—*

“ Apa-bila dapat memo ini di-harap-lah kira-nya
sahabat beta akan memberi ketahui beta dengan segera-nya
pechahan masalah harta pesaka sa'orang perempuan
telah mati meninggalkan waris-waris dan waris-waris-nya
itu seperti yang tersebut di-bawah ini :—

1934
3 July

Ismail	..	..	suami	deripada	si-mati.
Haji Idris	..	..	ayah	..	..
Mohamed Nor	..	..	adek	..	..

The *Kathi* replied as follows :—†

“ Ahwal dengan hormat-nya beta ma-alumkan adapun
perbahagian harta sa'orang perempuan telah mati dan
meninggalkan waris-nya tiga orang, ya'itu sa'orang
suami-nya, sa'orang bapa-nya dan sa'orang adek-nya sa'ibu
sa'bapa adalah masalah-nya itu dua sahaja.

4 July

Sa'orang swami-nya dapat satu bahagian ;

Sa'orang bapa-nya dapat satu bahagian dan adek-nya
sa'ibu sa'bapa itu tiada dapat karna didinding oleh bapa-nya itu ”.

* On receipt of this memo please let me know speedily the division of the heritable property of a woman who died leaving heirs and the heirs are as stated hereunder :—

Ismail	..	..	..	husband	of deceased.
Haji Idris	..	..	..	father	..
Mohamed Nor	..	..	..	younger brother	..

† I have the honour to inform you that the division of the property of a woman who died and left three heirs, that is a husband, a father and a younger full brother, is into two (shares) only.

The husband takes one share ;

The father takes one share.

and the younger full brother does not take because he is barred by the father.

Two days later the *Kathi* volunteered a further letter as follows :—*

6 July

“ Deripada pasal pesaka Noorijah binti Haji Idris yang telah kembali kepada 8.6.33 meninggalkan suami dan bapa dan saudara tiada dapat karna bapa ada—masaalah dua sahaja :—

bapa dapat satu, dan

suami dapat satu

tetapi itu telah di-bahagi dua dahulu sebab dapat sama-sama di-chari. Di-bahagi dua dahulu; kemudian yang belah (*sic, quare* lebeh ?) itu baharu di-bahagi dua pula itu-lah baharu jadi pesaka si-mati itu. Ini-lah rupa masaalah-nya :—

bapa dapat satu, dan

suami dapat satu yang lebeh itu.

Ini-lah sahaya maalumkan ada-nya. Surat yang dahulu boleh-lah buang sebab sahaya tiada tahu.”

1934
8 Sept.

The case came on for hearing and oral evidence shewed that the deceased was the wife of the applicant, Ismail, a public servant. At the time of the marriage which was in 1915, she had no land. At various times during the marriage the pair acquired land which they later sold and with the proceeds and with additional money provided out of the husband's salary they acquired other land which was registered in the wife's name because the Government regulations prohibited the husband from holding land. In 1933 the wife died leaving eleven lots of land of which she was the sole registered proprietress. There were no children of the marriage.

The husband said :—

“ I pray that the property be distributed according to *shara'*. But I claim that the whole property be treated as *harta sa-penchari*. All the land was acquired by me during the time I lived with deceased as husband and wifeall the land was acquired at my expense ”.

The father of the deceased said in evidence :—

“ I agree that the property be distributed among the *waris* according to *shara'* but I do not agree that it be treated as *harta sa-penchari* because it is registered in the name of deceased. The land was bought by the husband ”.

* With regard to the heritable property of Noorijah binti Haji Idris who died on 8 June 1933 leaving husband and father and a relation who does not take because there is the father (surviving)—there are two questions only :—
the father takes one (share) and
the husband takes one (share)

but that is after it is divided into two because it was jointly earned. First it is divided into two, then the remainder is again divided into two. The remainder then becomes the heritable property of the deceased. Thus the problem appears :—

The father takes one (share) and

the husband takes the one remaining (share).

Thus I inform you

(P.S.) Please throw away my former letter because I did not know.

The *Kathi*, giving evidence on behalf of the husband, said that the husband had bought the land while he was a Government servant and that the wife "did practically nothing beyond cooking food".

In answer to the trial Collector the *Kathi* added :—

"In my opinion the only persons who can succeed to the property are the husband and the father".

Inche ABDUL RAFFAR, *Collector and Deputy Registrar*, Ulu Selangor:—"I find that the land now registered in the name of the deceased was acquired at the expense of Ismail, her lawful husband. The property is, I think, *harta sa-penchari*. The question is how the property should be distributed. I therefore order that the property be distributed according to *shara'* and that the *Kathi* be informed accordingly. Raffar, C.L.R.

The land is valued at \$2,700".

The Collector then referred the question of distribution to the *Kathi* in the following terms* :—

"Ahwal di-maalumkan ada-lah sa-orang perempuan telah meninggalkan waris seperti yang tersebut di-bawah ini, maka si-mati telah meninggalkan berberapa keping tanah di-dapati dalam masa suami-nya, Ismail, *Mines Overseer*, maka telah sah dengan terang tanah-tanah ini di-dapati dengan pencharian Ismail sendiri. Oleh itu boleh-lah sahabat beta faraidz harta ini mengikut hukum *shara'* dan boleh jawab dengan segera-nya ada-nya :—

18 Sept.

Haji Idris	..	bapa si-mati.
Ismail	..	suami si-mati.
Nor Askiah	..	anak saudara sa-pupu belah ibu.
Mohamed Nor	..	adek si-mati sa-ibu sa-bapa."

The *Kathi* replied as follows† :—

15 Sept.

".....Seperti masaaalah itu sangat-lah duka-chita sahaya hendak menjawab-nya karna si-mati itu tiada berharta karna ia nama sahaja".

*I have the honour to inform you that a woman has left heirs as mentioned below and the deceased left several pieces of land acquired during the time her husband Ismail was a *Mines Overseer*.

It has been clearly proved that the lands were acquired with the earnings of Ismail himself. Will you therefore state the distribution of the property according to Muhammadan law and please reply early :—

Haji Idris	..	..	..	father of deceased.
Ismail	..	..	..	husband of deceased.
Nor Askiah	..	..	..	cousin's daughter, mother's side.
Mohamed Nor	..	..	..	younger full brother of deceased.

†.....With regard to your questions I have to reply with great regret that the deceased had no property, because she was a nominee only.

18 Sept.

The Collector did not understand the letter of 15th September. He had an interview with the *Kathi* when he explained orally how the property was acquired in the name of the deceased. The *Kathi* promised to send a further reply in writing and did so as follows* :—

21 Sept.

“Seperti *memo* yang bertarikh kepada 13.9.34 serta tuan beritakan bahagian faraidz pada jawab-nya si-mati itu tiada berharta sa-panjang hukum shara' sudah terang suami-nya yang punya harta. Ini-lah sahaja sahaya maalumkan harta yang tersebut itu tiada-lah boleh dijalankan dengan hukum faraidz sebab bukan harta istri-nya melainkan harta suami-nya. Tiada-lah waris-waris-nya mendapat daripada harta itu serta terang dengan nyata hukum shara' boleh di-kembalikan harta itu kepada suami-nya ”.

5 Oct.

The Collector then consulted the District Officer who advised him to write again to the *Kathi* stating that a woman died leaving relatives as disclosed in the evidence but not mentioning names, stating that the land was *harta sa-pencharian* and asking what the share of each relative was. The Collector accordingly wrote to the *Kathi* who replied as follows† :—

18 Oct.

“.....berduka-chita-lah beta daripada pasal harta sa-pencharian itu oleh itu hal yang demikian di-harap-lah sahabat beta tolong beri ke-terangan sa-dikit derihal harta sa-pencharian. Siapa-kah yang penchari-nya itu ada-nya ”

26 Oct.

The Collector referred this to the District Officer who pointed out that the Collector had already decided that the land was *harta sa-pencharian* and, that being so, the *Kathi's* letter of 6 July (*supra* p. 60) showed how it should be divided.

The Collector then made an Order as follows :—

$\frac{3}{4}$ to go to the husband and $\frac{1}{4}$ to go to the father of the deceased (*i.e.*, first divide the property into two—half to the husband and the other half between the husband and father of the deceased). The other *waris* are not entitled to the property, *vide* the *Kathi's* letter of 6th July.

* With regard to your memorandum dated 13.9.34 in which you state (a question of) distribution (according to religious law) the answer is that the deceased had no property according to the Muhammadan law; it has been made clear that it was the husband who owned the property. This is all that I have to say; the property mentioned above cannot be transmitted according to the (religious) law of distribution because it is not the property of the wife but is the property of the husband. The heirs of the wife do not take shares in that property. It is clear according to the provisions of Muhammadan law that the property can be returned to the husband.

†I am troubled in mind about the matter of property jointly acquired and therefore I hope that you will please throw a little more light on the matter of property jointly acquired. By whom was it acquired?

Ismail appealed.

26 Nov.

The trial Collector gave the following further grounds of judgment.

27 Nov.

Inche ABDUL RAFFAR, *Collector and Deputy Registrar, Ulu Selangor* (after stating the facts):—Normally the property should be wholly treated as the property left by the deceased on her death for it can be construed that these lands were given to her as gifts from a husband to his wife which are irrevocable, either during the marriage or after divorce (See *Laton v. Ramah, supra* at p. 41) and that the property should normally be distributed as in the *Kathi's* letter of 4th July (*supra* p. 59) *i.e.*, the father receives one half and the husband one half. Raffar C.L.R.

But on the other hand it appears to me that this is a case where a Government servant secretly acquired land in the name of his wife. I considered property thus acquired should be treated as property acquired after marriage by exertions of both wife and husband, particularly in this case—the husband working as a Government servant and the wife contributing her share in doing household work for which, according to Muhammadan law, she is entitled to claim for labour undertaken by her during marriage (See *Laton v. Ramah, supra* p. 41 section 6).

The distribution of the property thus acquired should be in accordance with the *Kathi's* letter of 6th July (*supra* p. 60) *i.e.* first divide the property into two—one half goes to the husband and the other half to be divided between husband and father. This appears to agree with the contention mentioned in *Laton v. Ramah*, in sub-section (1) (*supra* p. 36).

After satisfying myself that the property, though in the name of the deceased, is in fact property acquired after marriage by deceased's husband and herself jointly and that (according to the first line of section 3 on page 248 of *Minhaj et Talibin*) father, son and husband are never excluded from succession, I ignored the *Kathi's* letter dated 21st September (*supra* p. 62) (which came to me as a surprise) and ordered the distribution of the property as in the *Kathi's* letter of 6th July, *i.e.* 3/4 to go to the husband and 1/4 to go to the father.

I do not agree with the *Kathi's* letter that the property should not be treated as *harta pesaka* and that the father of the deceased should not receive any share.

The appeal came on for hearing before Thomas, C. J.

14 Dec.

Sharma for appellant

Respondent in person

The parties agreed that the matter should be referred to the Ruler of the State of Selangor in Council under the Muhammadan Law and Malay Custom (Determination) Enactment 1930 in terms of the letter from the Collector to the *Kathi* dated 13th September, 1933 (*supra* p. 61).

1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

20 Dec.

The reference was as follows :—

“A certain Malay woman died leaving as beneficiaries the undermentioned persons and several pieces of land acquired during the time she lived with her husband, Ismail, a Mines Overseer. It has been proved that the lands were acquired with Ismail's own earnings.

How is the property to be distributed according to the Muhammadan law of inheritance ?

Beneficiaries.

Haji Idris ..	..	father of deceased.
Ismail ..	..	husband of deceased.
Nor Askiah ..	..	cousin's daughter, mother's side.
Mohamed Nor ..	..	younger full brother of deceased. ”

1935
18 Jan.

The decision of the Religious and Customary Committee of the State Council was :—

“ If there is sufficient evidence to show that the lands which are registered in the name of the deceased were not made over by gift to the deceased by her husband (Ismail) it should be held that the lands in question belong to Ismail and they should not be regarded as the estate of the deceased.”

18 Feb.

The appeal came on for further hearing.

Sharma (for appellant) :—There is no suggestion that there was any gift.

Respondent in person :—The land is registered in the name of the deceased and is therefore the property of the deceased. There was no consideration for registering it in her name and no evidence as to why it was so registered. Nor was it done conditionally.

Thomas C.J.

THOMAS, C. J. delivered oral judgment—

Appeal allowed—decision of Collector set aside—appellant declared solely entitled to the property—appellant to have costs of the appeal.

Commentary.

The questions at issue were :—

- (1) Was the property to be treated as the estate of the wife, either
 - (a) merely because it was registered in her name or
 - (b) because it was an irrevocable gift by one spouse to the other ?

- (2) (a) Was the property *harta sa-pencharian* ?
 (b) If so was any part of it to be treated as the estate of the wife ?
- (3) In so far as the property was the estate of the wife it admittedly devolved according to Muhammadan law but on which members of the family and what fractional share did each member take ?

Question 1 (a) is a matter of pure law depending on the construction of the Land Code. This issue was clearly raised by the father in his evidence before the Collector and in his argument before the Chief Justice but it is not touched on in any of the decisions. The answer to question 1 (a) is probably in the negative ; it seems that the Chief Justice took that view.

Question 1 (b) is a mixed question of fact and Muhammadan law.

Both parts of Question 2 are mixed questions of fact and Malay custom.

Question (3) is a question of pure Muhammadan law and this is the only question which a *kathi* could reasonably be expected to answer.

In his letter of the 4th July 1934 the *Kathi* answered question 3. Immediately afterwards he was made aware, probably by one of the parties, of the issue of *harta sa-pencharian* and he thereupon sent the corrective letter of 6 July in which he expressly asserted that the property was acquired by the spouses jointly (*sama-sama di-chari*) and dealt with question 2. At the hearing he adhered to this view. His evidence that the wife did nothing beyond cooking can only refer to this issue (*c.f.* p. 27 para 3). The letter of 13 September was intended by the Collector to propound questions 2 (b) and (3) only—the Collector having already held that the property was *harta sa-penchari*. This letter, however, is not free from ambiguity. It states in terms that the property was acquired by the husband himself which might be taken to mean that the property was not *harta sa-pencharian*. Read as a whole the letter probably does mean that the property was jointly acquired but that the wife did not work on the land. At any rate the *Kathi* cannot have been misled because this was the view taken by him in his evidence at the hearing.

It is probable, however, that after the trial and before replying to this letter the *Kathi* consulted the Chief Kathi. In his subsequent letters he flatly refused to answer questions 2 or 3 but dealt with the case on the basis of question 1 (a) to which he returned a negative answer though it had not been put to him.

This placed the Collector in a quandary. He had held on the evidence that the land was *harta sa-penchari* and he was therefore

bound to distribute it accordingly but it was difficult for him to over-rule the *Kathi* to whom he had officially referred the matter. With all due respect to the District Officer, his suggestion of 5th October was certain to be abortive. Even if the letter had not of necessity carried an identification number the *Kathi* could not fail to recognise the case at a glance.

The Collector then made an Order in accordance with his own opinion which he had far better have done at the start.

At the hearing of the appeal the Court was supplied with translations of the letters of 13 and 21 September but not of the other correspondence, though the letter of 6 July is mentioned in the judgment. The collector's original file was however in Court. The reference was in the terms of the letter of 13 Sept., which, as has been pointed out, does not clearly express the finding of the Collector but it did sufficiently convey the real contentions of the parties, the husband's point being that the land was *harta sa-pencharian* (i.e. joint property) but that he was nevertheless solely entitled to succeed to it, and the father's being that it was the wife's separate property because registered in her name.

The decision of the State Council is based on Question 1 (b) only. It does not expressly shew that the Council considered the issue of *harta sa-pencharian* at all but in view of the wording of the reference they can hardly have overlooked it. It appears likely therefore that they took the same view as the *Kathi* of Larut in *Wan Mahatan v. Haji Abdul Samat* (at page 27 *supra*.)

The judgment of the Chief Justice followed inevitably on applying the decision of the State Council to the facts as found by the Collector. It is reasonably clear that the husband's object in registering the land in his wife's name was to conceal the fact that he was dealing in land—not to make a gift to his wife.

It is curious and regrettable that the practice of referring questions to the *kathi* has survived so long after the Muhammadan Law and Malay Custom (Determination) Enactment 1930 made it unnecessary. But even if that practice were allowable it would be unsound to refer a question (as was done here on 3 July 1934) before the facts had been investigated. Although it appears to be usual in Ulu Selangor this is the only case known to the author where such a reference was made before the hearing.

The correspondence between the Collector and the *Kathi* after the hearing was, of course, altogether irregular. The whole case illustrates the practical value of the decision of the Court of Appeal in *Laton v. Ramah* (*supra*, p. 45) that it is wrong in principle to admit evidence of "experts" on questions which are, in truth, questions of the law of the land.

ALUS v. MAHMOOD.

Kajang Magistrate's Civil Suit No. 66 of 1934.
Civil Appeal No. 40 of 1934.

Selangor—maintenance of children—liability of the father after divorce.

After divorce the husband is not liable for the maintenance of the children of the dissolved marriage unless and until the *kathi* has made an order for their maintenance—conditions of such liability stated by the State Council.

The husband divorced the wife in 1930. The *Kathi* gave the custody of the two children of the marriage to the wife but made no order for their maintenance. For about a year and half the husband contributed to the support of the children but thereafter the wife alone maintained them. The wife had not re-married. The wife claimed \$435, being the estimated cost of maintaining the children for twenty-nine months at \$15 a month. There was no claim on behalf of the wife herself. The Magistrate gave judgment for the plaintiff for \$232 and costs. (This represents \$4 a month for each child but the record does not indicate how the amount was assessed).

The defendant appealed.

BURTON J. referred the following question to the State Council under the Muhammadan Law and Malay Custom (Determination) Enactment, 1930.

1934
1st Dec.

A Malay and his wife were divorced about four years ago. Since then they have been living apart and the wife has not remarried. The children have remained in the custody of the wife.

Is the husband by Muhammadan law or Malay custom bound to support the children?

The decision of the State Council was conveyed by a letter in Malay of which the Resident supplied the following translation:—

1935
6th Feb.
State Council

A Muhammadan is bound to undertake the support of his children by providing them with food and shelter and anything else requisite for maintaining their good name and well-being.

There are two conditions; that the father possess more than enough for his own and his family's daily expenses and that the children be either destitute and in infancy, destitute and diseased or destitute and mentally deficient.

If these conditions are satisfied the father is bound to provide for his children's maintenance.

When, however, the prescribed period has elapsed the father is not bound to defray the expenses of maintenance during the past period nor shall he be held liable for such expenses unless by order or permission of the *kathi* he is debited with them on account of the children. In that case only is the father liable.

2nd March

The Court addressed a further letter to the Resident, as follows :—

I have the honour to enquire whether you could amplify the fourth clause of the decision communicated in your letter of 6th February as the words "prescribed period" are not understood.

2. In order to apply the decision to the particular case pending it is necessary to know exactly what this period is and from what event it runs.
3. I would also enquire whether the expression "past period" could be elucidated for as it stands it is not clear whether it is identical with the "prescribed period."
4. May I, in the hope of avoiding further difficulty, put the foregoing question in another way? Suppose for the sake of argument that the "prescribed period" is 40 weeks. Does it run from some event which can readily be established—*e.g.* from the date of the *kathi's* certificate of *satu talak* or of *tiga talak*?

Does the decision mean that after the prescribed period the father can under no circumstances be made liable or does it mean that after the prescribed period he continues liable if the *kathi* has made an order to that effect?

25th March
State Council.

The Resident forwarded a further letter from the State Council, together with a translation, reading :—

"If no *nafkah* has been paid for any period (*i.e.* since the divorce and prior to a formal claim for *nafkah* by the wife), which period may be a day, two days or any period, the husband will not be liable to pay any expenses (retrospectively) during this period because it is not a liability on him.

But if, during this period the *kathi* makes an order laying down that the husband is liable and then allows the wife or some other person, to incur any expenditure, for the children's daily expenses,—say 40 cents per day—the money so expended necessarily becomes a debt which the husband is liable to pay.

2. The words "lapse of the prescribed period" do not mean that the husband shall in every case be exempt from liability for maintaining his children during any period which may have elapsed (*i.e.* between the divorce and application for *nafkah*) or for any future period; but it does mean that the husband shall not be liable for such maintenance unless so ordered by the *kathi*."

Note.—(Words in brackets do not appear in the original and are inserted by the translator to clarify the meaning).

Sharma for Appellant.
Respondent in person.

29th Nov.
Cussen, J.

CUSSEN, J. :—The ruling of the State Council as to the liability of a husband to pay for past maintenance of his children after divorce is that the husband is liable for such past maintenance only if an order of the *kathi* was made either directing the husband to pay such maintenance or authorising the wife to recover the expenses of maintenance of the children. If such order has been made, then the husband is liable for maintenance from the period subsequent to the order.

The suit was therefore remitted to the trial Magistrate to take the necessary evidence to determine this fact, with a direction to call the *kathi* to produce any documentary or oral evidence he might have to offer thereon.

PERAK STATE COUNCIL MINUTE.

18th January 1907.

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7. The British Resident reads a Malay translation of a letter* to the Secretary to Resident from a former Senior Magistrate, Perak, Mr. Innes, on the subject of the expediency of the introduction of a law to deal with the ownership of the property of Muhammadans as affected by marriage, divorce and intestacy.

His Highness the Sultan gives a statement of Muhammadan law and Malay custom relating to this subject and cites cases which have been decided before him.

The Council unanimously approves the view of Mr. Innes that, though the Courts when deciding claims to property in cases of intestacy and divorce must depend on the *kathis* for expert opinion on points of Muhammadan law, no *kathi* should ever be allowed to make partitions of property or to decide what actual property any particular proportion includes for this would mean deciding questions of fact as well as declaring the religious law.

The Council declares and orders to be recorded that the custom of the Malays of Perak in the matter of dividing up property after divorce, when such property has been acquired by the parties or one of them during marriage, is to adopt the proportion of two shares to the man and one share to the woman and that gifts between married persons are irrevocable either during marriage or after divorce. The Council further records its desire that the Courts should call in the *kathis* as advisers on principle in cases of these kinds.

(*Perak Gazette*, 5th April 1907, p. 241).

* The file containing the letter cannot now be traced (S.R., Pk. 9.5.36).

MEMORANDUM

By the Hon. Mr. J. L. Humphreys, *British Adviser, Trengganu*,
on *harta sa-charian laki-bini* in Trengganu.

The usual method of settling claims about *harta sa-charian* in Trengganu is by oath—that is, of course, in the absence of satisfactory legal evidence. The person in possession has the privilege of taking the oath or, if he prefers, of “returning the oath” (*ratkan sumpah*) to the other party.

(1) If the party in possession of property (e.g. a widow, a widower, a divorced husband or wife, or the *waris* of a deceased husband or wife) claims that the property is not *sa-charian* he or she or they may take an oath to that effect; the oath establishes the property as not *sa-charian*.

Or the oath may be “returned” to the other party who may then take an oath that the property is *sa-charian*; on declining to take an oath he loses his suit.

(2) If the party in possession claims it to be *sa-charian* one half of the property immediately becomes so and is liable to division; the oath is applicable to the remaining half.

(3) In the absence of proof as to proportions of capital invested the shares of the two parties are presumed to be equal and the property is divided equally (*ittlak*).

(4) Oaths are administered in a Mosque by an Official Reader; the person taking the oath has the *Koran* on his lap.

(This Memorandum is dated 8th July 1924. It was communicated to the Chief Secretary, F.M.S. by Mr. M. D. Daly, Commissioner of Lands, in F.S.G. 2238/27.

The circumstances in which it was written do not appear.)

OPINION

of a Committee of Chiefs and *Kathis* of Pahang
on *harta sa-pencharian* and *harta sharikat*.

During the discussions preparatory to the framing of the Muhammadan Law and Malay Custom (Determination) Enactment, 1930, the Resident of Pahang, the Honorable Mr. A. F. Worthington, drew up a number of questions on the law and custom of Pahang regarding division of property on dissolution of marriage. These were translated into Malay in the Secretariat and referred to a special committee comprising the Tungku Besar and other Chiefs and all the *Kathis* of the State.

The questions are reproduced here as framed by the Resident in his own hand in English. The translation of the answers of the committee has been revised by Mr. H. G. Turner, M.C.S. lately Secretary to the Resident, Pahang, to whom thanks are due. (Phg. 2091/27).

QUESTIONS.

1. Can a woman claim *harta sa-pencharian* according to Muhammadan law or Pahang custom?

2. If she can claim it, can she claim it on:—

- (a) divorce, or
- (b) death of her husband, or
- (c) in either of these cases?

3. If she can claim it, can she include land only or moveable property only or can she claim any kind of property?

4. Is there any fixed rule as to shares, *e.g.* is it laid down that a woman may claim one half or is it left to the *kathi* to decide what proportion the woman shall have in each case?

5. Is *harta shariikat* the same as *harta sa-pencharian*? If not, what is the difference?

ANSWERS.

A woman can claim.

In any of the cases stated.

Any kind of property.

There is no fixed rule but either equal or unequal shares may be awarded:—

- (a) pursuant to a compromise between the parties or confirming a gift;
- (b) by judgment of the *kathi* according to Muhammadan law.

Harta shariikat and *harta sa-pencharian* mean the same thing, that is to say, in practice they are alike though the words used are different. *Shariikat* is an Arabic word whereas *harta sa-pencharian* is a Malay term used especially in Pahang.

Shariikat is defined by certain conditions laid down by Muhammadan law.

Harta sa-pencharian is fixed by Pahang custom, *i.e.* it is the property obtained by the joint labours of husband and wife together, which cannot be said to be the property of any one of them.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE LEGISLATION.

The Muhammadan law of succession provides that the widow and parents of a deceased person inherit certain fractions of the estate and the residue is divided into shares of which the sons take two each and the daughters one each. In default of direct issue the property is divided among brothers, cousins and remoter kindred, the successors of the Prophet having exercised their mathematical ingenuity in working out the fractions according to the degree of consanguinity, whether of the full or of the half blood and so on. In many cases therefore an extremely intricate calculation is necessary to determine the distribution. Even in the simplest cases the results are sufficiently cumbersome. Suppose, for instance, that a man dies leaving a widow, two sons and one daughter. The widow receives one-eighth of the estate, each son receives two-fifths of the residue and the daughter one-fifth.

One-fifth of seven-eighths is seven-fortieths.

The distribution is therefore:—

widow	$\frac{1}{8}$ or	5 fortieths.
son		14 „
„		14 „
daughter		7 „
		—
		40 „
		—

Suppose further that one of the sons dies leaving a widow but no children. His widow receives one quarter of his estate and his mother one-third; his brother receives a double share and his sister a single share of the residue. The distribution is therefore:—

widow	$\frac{1}{4}$ or	9 thirty-sixths.
mother	$\frac{1}{3}$	12 „ „
brother		10 „ „
sister		5 „ „
		—
		36 „ „
		—

But the estate of the son consists (in part at least) of his share in what was his father's land. His widow therefore inherits one quarter of his fourteen-fortieths, that is seven-eightieths. The other heirs of the son have already an interest in the same land but the denominator of their fractions is increased. In such a case the widow of the son will probably remarry and her seven-eightieths share will eventually devolve on two or three persons having no relationship with the other owners of the land.

This may have been a sound and practical method of distributing flocks and herds and money but the result of applying it to registered land for two generations is to make the title quite unmanageable. Yet many titles in Perak, even for lots as small as one acre, have been covered with these intolerable fractions. It frequently happens that a man leaves several lots of land; in such a case it is usually impracticable to distribute them separately because the values of the different lots do not correspond to the shares of the beneficiaries so every fraction must be entered on the title to every lot.

The people themselves do not readily appreciate the meaning of an undivided share. If a man buys a half-share in a block of land he is usually registered as a co-owner, that is the purchaser and the vendor become tenants in common and each is, in theory, entitled to half the produce of all the land. In practice, however, the purchaser and the vendor usually agree on a private internal boundary and each enjoys half the land as though he had a separate title to it.

As long as a lot is held by one family and the members are on good terms with one another no harm may result from a complicated title but a nephew of the half-blood with only an undivided three-eightieths may seek his fortune in another part of the country and even if all the other co-owners are of age and agree to sell the land they have no means of clearing him off the register and consequently cannot give a clean title to a purchaser. Also those who stay at home may be reluctant to expend money and labour on improving or maintaining the cultivation of land for the benefit of absentees. This leads to neglect and the trees may become diseased and dangerous to neighbours.

All these questions call for intervention by the legislature. The first step is to dispense with the necessity for registering the widow's share, especially where the estate consists of more than one lot of land. In lieu of her one-eighth (or quarter) of the whole estate the widow should be registered as occupant for her life of one piece of land, with remainder to the children. This would, of itself, greatly reduce complication because where there are children of the deceased the remaining shares are all simple fractions.

To prevent the registration of unduly small fractions it could be provided that wherever the share of any heir is so small that in the event of subdivision his portion would be less than, say, half an acre he should receive in lieu of a share in the land a registered charge over the land (or part of it) for an amount of money representing his proportionate share of the estate according to the *penghulu's* valuation. This would enable the other heirs to pay him off at any time. In accordance with Muhammadan principles such a charge would not carry interest.

The many hundreds of titles which are already covered with unpractical fractional interests could be dealt with by applying the principles of the Birkenhead legislation. Wherever the number of proprietors of a mukim register title exceeded, say, four the first four would be deemed to be trustees of the whole on trust to sell and distribute the proceeds to the owners in proportion to their interests and with power to postpone the sale. Means could be provided for the proceeds of sale of the shares of infant or absentee proprietors to be placed on deposit in the land office.

It is submitted that legislation, preferably by Rule, on these lines would be acceptable to the State Councils, for it would not be in any way at variance with the Muhammadan law but rather an improved method of applying its provisions. Such measures would be beneficial not only to the private individuals concerned but also to the public generally by facilitating the sale and purchase of land and by promoting its cultivation in family units.

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GLOSSARY.

<i>adat</i>	custom ; customary law, (see Wilkinson's "Law—Introductory Sketch" at p. 13).
<i>blukar</i>	.. ..	secondary jungle.
<i>charian laki-bini</i>	.. ..	(joint) acquisitions of husband and wife (A Negri Sembilan expression).
<i>harta sharikat</i>	.. ..	property acquired in partnership (meaning by husband and wife—see p. 73).
<i>harta sa-pencharian.</i>	.. ..	property jointly acquired (meaning by husband and wife—see p. 73).
<i>hukum shara'</i>	.. ..	Muhammadian law.
<i>kampung</i>	.. ..	an orchard, a hamlet.
<i>kathi</i>	.. ..	A registrar of Muhammadian marriages (see p. 6).
<i>ketua kampung</i>	.. ..	unofficial headman of a hamlet.
<i>kris</i>	.. ..	the Malay wavy bladed dagger.
<i>kuasa</i>	.. ..	an instrument of delegation—a Commission conferring and defining the powers of an official.
<i>lalang</i>	.. ..	giant grass, a weed.
<i>mas kawin</i>	.. ..	"marriage gold"—the money present paid or promised to the woman on marriage and returnable in some cases on divorce—see Wilkinson's "Law—Introductory Sketch" at p. 53.
<i>mukim</i>	.. ..	"parish"—administrative sub-division of a district.
<i>nafkah</i>	.. ..	"daily bread", maintenance, alimony.
<i>padi</i>	.. ..	rice.
<i>pakat</i>	.. ..	agreement, compromise.
<i>pencharian</i>	.. ..	see <i>harta</i> .
<i>penghulu</i>	.. ..	official headman of a <i>mukim</i> (<i>q.v.</i>).
<i>pesaka</i>	.. ..	inheritance, inherited property.
<i>shara'</i>	.. ..	see <i>hukum</i> .
<i>talak</i>	.. ..	the formal word of divorce pronounced by a husband (see Wilkinson's "Law—Introductory Sketch" at p. 56 and Taylor's "Customary Law of Rembau" at p. 18).
<i>tebus talak</i>	.. ..	divorce "purchased" by the wife (and see <i>talak</i>).
<i>upah</i>	.. ..	remuneration.
<i>waris</i>	.. ..	heirs, relations near enough to inherit.

CATALOGUE
OF
CHURCH RECORDS,
MALACCA
1642-1898.

*An exact reprint of a Government paper published at the
Government Printing Office, Singapore, 1899.*

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS
GOVERNMENT.

MEMORANDUM.

This list is the result of a suggestion made by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese on his visitation in the present year.

These records, together with the old Dutch Church Plate, are kept in the Treasury at the Stadt House.

Several of the earlier ones are partially illegible owing, apparently, to the corrosive nature of the ink used, while most are falling to pieces from lack of binding, and their present unsuitable storage. On the whole, however, they are fairly legible, and form a valuable treasure, as among the oldest of the chronicles of civilised man in the Far East.

In the accompanying list the numbers in the first column refer to the present new chronological arrangement of the books. It has seemed best to follow strictly the chronological order according to date of commencement. For further convenience, a continuous list of Registers only is given at the end (*vide* APPENDIX A).

Loose *dated* MSS. have been grouped together and catalogued at the beginning of the century to which they belong; loose *undated* MSS. at the end of such.

Books which have been reversed, and entries of a different character made at the other end, are indicated by the word "Reverse", the contents being titled and dated as separate records, but the number of the volume being retained.

T. J. HARDY,
Acting Colonial Chaplain, Malacca.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA. 1642-1648.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
1.	.....	Fragment folio, unbound, pp. 100, largely illegible.	Completion. XVIIth Century.	Page 23 bears date 1649.
2.	"Erste Doop Boek Der Gereformerde Kerk van Malacca. Beginnende miat de Maand Januari int' Jaar 1642." (First Baptist Book of the Reformed Church of Malacca, beginning January, 1642.)	Folio, bound badly, pp. 275, all pp. filled and all legible.	January 1642.	This MS. is evidently a careful copy made by Jacobus Van der Vorm, Pastor, in the last year of his office (1712), of previous records. It leaves at commencement contain a list of Pastors from 1641 to 1682, and a preface written by Van der Vorm on 16 March, 1712.
3.	Title-page missing. Heading on page 1 :— "Trouw Boek Van Malacca. Namen der Personen welck volgens kerkelyk gebruyck na 3 proclamatie opent-lyk alhier in de kerck in den Houwelyken Stadt syn Carrsight Balth de Weber A 1648." (Marriage Register of Malacca. Names of persons who pursuant to Church custom after three banns are publicly joined here in the Church in the State of Martinony.)	Extra folio, bound, pp. 141, all pp. filled, 102 pp. illegible.	Dec. 12, 1772.	1st 43 pp. almost entirely illegible, some falling into dust on book being opened, but at p. 44 a new title page "Trouw Bek oVan Malakka," with a list of Governors dated 1709. One may perhaps conclude that 1st 43 pp. contain Marriages 1648 to 1709. After p. 45, MS. more legible, but 24 pp. further again illegible, for 36 pp. i. e. to year 1725, then 12 legible pp., 24 illegible pp., the rest being fairly legible.
4.	"Kerkelyke Acten van A° 1648."	Small folio, unbound, pp. 102, legible throughout and extremely neat.	1648. March, 14, 1658	

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA,—*Continued.*

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
5.	"Brieven Boek van Anno 1648 tot Anno 1682. (Letter book 1648 to 1682.)	Small folio, unbound, pp. 214, 5 pp. blank, the rest mostly legible.	1648. 1682.	
6.	"Lett. D. No. 6 Resolute Boek des kerken-raads van Malacca Beginnende den 10 Dec. [1650] en eyndigende den 22 Dec. [1691]."	Small folio, bound badly, pp. 140, all pp. filled and legible.	Dec. 10, 1650. Jan. 2, 1692.	
7.	"Lett. D. No. 6 Resolute Boek des Kerken raads van Malacca. Beginnende den 10 Dec. [1658] en eyndigende den 22 Dec. [1692]."	Small folio, unbound, pp. 150, 30 blank pp. much eaten in places, otherwise legible.	10 Dec., 1658. 22 Dec., 1692.	
8.	Doop Boek van Malacca beginnende den 22 Januari A° 1689 en eyndigende den 6 Januari A° 1709.	Small folio, bound, pp. 88, all pp. filled and legible.	22 Jan., 1689. 6, Jan., 1709.	
9.	Gehonden onder den dienst der successive Predikanten, Philippus Gootingk 1690. Johannes Barton 1700. Johannes Stampioen 1704." "Acten en kerkelyken."	Fragment of small folio, unbound, pp. 70, legible.	19 Mar., 1693. 22 July, 1699.	

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
10.	Fragment of small folio, unbound, pp. 58, legible.	Commencement. 1 Oct., 1694.	Title missing, apparently a book of Ecclesiastical Ordinances.
11.	[Two MSS. the first entitled "Ma- andagh Ordinaris" the other a fragment].		13 Sep., 1694. 15 Oct., 1699.	
12.	[A collection of loose XVIIIth Cen- tury MSS., 102, in number.		Separated into decades No. of MSS. and classified. in each decade 1700—1709. 5 1710—1719. 0 1720—1729. 0 1730—1739. 1 1740—1749. 1 1750—1759. 6 1760—1769. 17 1770—1779. 36	
			Do. 9 Ecclesiastical Letters. Do. 6 State Notifications. Do. 1 Report of Church in Dutch Indies in 1790-1. Do. 6 Ecclesiastical Letters. Do. 12 State Notifications.	
			1780—1789. 17 1790—1799. 19 <hr/> 102	

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
12a.	"Plan der Graffkelders van de Bovenkerk Nevens Aanteekening der Lyken die in, dezelve successive by geyetzyn. (Plan of the Grave Vaults of the Upper Church with Register of the bodies which have been successively interred therein.)	.....	Commencement. No date. Completion.	Found among the above MSS.
13.	.....	Small folio, unbound, pp. 36.	1702—	Fragment, title page lost.
14.	"Resolutive Boeck des Eerw. Kercken Raads van Malacca. Beginnende den 10 Dec. A ^o 1708 en vervolgende over A ^o 1709."	Small folio, badly bound, pp. 294, entirely legible.	10 Dec., 1708. March, 1717.	Fly-leaf contains the following "Gehonden onder den dienst der successive predikantew Johannes Stamprock Jan. 1709, Jacobus van den Vorm, gekomen den 8 Januari, 1709, bertrocken den 5 Juli, 1712] Jacobus van Spück gek den 31 May, 1712, obit 21 Martz, 1717. Godofricus t' Hoen Hoogendorp gekomen den 17 February, 1717."
15.	"Extract Boek. Beginnende dan 14 Xber 1708 en eyndigende met jaar 1731."	Small folio, unbound, pp. 117, entirely legible.	14 Dec., 1708.	25 July, 1731.
16.	"Boek. Den Ledematen van de Geragoreerde kerk van Malacca. Van A ^o 1709 tot A ^o 1721."	Folio, unbound, written with great care and entirely legible.	4th Mar., 1709.	13 Oct., 1721.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1709.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
17.	" Lett. E. No. 3 Brieven Boek des kerken- raads van Malacca. Behel Sende augaande en outvan- gende brieven beginnende met ano 1709 Voorts tot A° 1735."	Small folio, unbound, pp. 270, mostly legible.	Commencement. Feb., 1709.	This MSS. appears to give consider- able information about the Protest- ant Church in Batavia, Amboyna, Colombo, and the whole of the East.
18.	Doop Boek van Malacca. Behel Sende den namen der kinderen en lajaarde der in de Gerefor- meerde kerk ab y'm Gedoopt. Beginnende met den 20 Januari A° 1709 en eyndigende met den [?].	Large, folio bound, pp. 164 legible.	20 Jan., 1709.	
	Onder de Regerunge van de suc- cessive Heeren Gouverneurs. De Edl. Heer Pieter Rooselar raad extr. Van India Gekomen A° 1707 vertrocken 26 Dec. A° 1709. De Edl. Agth Willem Lix gekn. 7 Nov. 1709. De Edl. Agth H. Willem Moerman gekomen 21 May. 1711. Onder der dienst der successive predokanten. Jacobus van der Vorm. &c., &c.*		20 Jan., 1709.	*Here follows a list of " predekan- ten," from Vorm in 1709 to Pom- merolles in 1735. As the list ex- actly corresponds with the same section in the list of Pastors append- ed to this Catalogue, I have not thought it necessary to copy it here, nor will I do so with any such list except to note any discrepancy that may be found.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—*Continued.*

1711—1719.

6

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
19.	Extracten voor de Respective Kerken te Malacca, genoemen in Raade van Jastitie, beginnende met A° 1711 tot A° 1771.	Small folio, unbound, pp. 122 legible.	Commencement. 1711. Completion. 1771.	
20.	" te Malacca. Beginnende den Jany. A° 1718 en vervolgende over A° 1719 en voorts td [?] Gescheiden onder den dienst der successive Predikanten. Godofridus 't H. Hoogendorp gekomm den 24 Feb. A° 1717.	Large folio, bound, (but one cover missing), pp. 288 legible except title page which is very bad, and title and list of Pastors illegible.	1 Jan., 1718. ?	From the contents, this appears to be a Minute and Letter-book.
21.	" Rapporten. Rakende de Respective [kir ?] ken te Malacca beginnende met den 17 Maartz 1719 tot den 21 Junij, 1773."	Small folio, unbound, pp. 70.	17 Mar., 1719. 21 June, 1773.	Letters in brackets in title not clear; the book prefaced with four pages containing a complete list of Dutch interments on St. Paul's Hill.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1740—1742.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
22.	<p>" Resolutive Boek. Des Gevevormerde kerkan Raads van Malacca. Beginnende den 8 Februarij, 1740, en vervolgende A° 1751 en boorts td A° 1772. Gehouden onder den Dienst den successive Predikanten." (Here follows list). .....K van Malacca. Bahelfende de naamen den seimevan en Gejaarde die in de gereformeerde kerke aldaar Sy'n gedoopt. Beginnende met den 15 Mart 1742 onder de Regeringe van de successive Heeren Gouverneurs. De Edl Agth. Heer Willem.... De Edl Agth. Heer Pieter Van Hemsterk. De Edl Agth. Heer Wilhelm Decker gek den 27 Junij A° 1784. Onder den dienst der successive Predikanten. Servardus Bronwell gek. 25 Sept. 1741. Gerardus Cornelis Zastiaence. (Gondarms, Gekomen 6 Nov. 1780*"</p>	<p>Extra folio, bound, pp. 312, largely illegible.</p>	<p>Commencement. 8 Feb., 1740.</p>	<p>Contains useful list. Namen des Predikanten die als ordinaire Leeraaven de Geveformeerde kerke van Malacca brdient hebben van hat Jaar. 1641.</p>
23.		<p>Extra folio bound badly, pp. 130, pp. 2-7 illegible and falling to pieces.</p>	<p>20 Dec., 1789.</p>	<p>*Date of Gondarms arrival in other lists and Registers 1748, left in 1756. Between this and 1708 four pastors intervene, so 1780 a mistake. The title is probably " Doop Boek " as it is certainly a Register of Baptisms, but in a very bad state of preservation.</p>

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1750—1768.

8

No.	Title.	Description.	Commencement. 1750	Completion. 1754	Date.	Notes.
24 (a)	"Boek der Ledemaarten van den Geref kerk.....ende onder het Gouv't van Malacca.	pp. 20.				
(b)	"Rolle der Gemeene Christenen van Malacca.	pp. 12.			1757 ?	Undated, but 1757 mentioned within.
(c)	"Rolle der Gemeene Christenen van Malacca.	pp. 12.			1761 ?	ditto.
(d)	"Naam Boek der Ledemaarten van de Gerefremeende kerk te Malacca A° 1764.	pp. 8.			1764	
(e)	"Naam Boek der Ledemaarten van de Gerefremeende kerk te Malacca A° 1769.	pp. 16.			[18 March 1761-12 Dec. 1762] 1769	Thirteen entries copied at end of book between dates 18.3.61—12.12.69.
(f)	"Naam Rolle der Ledemaarten van de Gerefremeende kerk te Malacca."	pp. 12. (9 blank).			1772	No date affixed, but 1772 mentioned within.
(g)	Naamen der Ledemaarten van de Gerefremeende kerk te Malacca.	pp. 16.				No date affixed, but entries between 1770 and 1776.
(h)	"Naam Boek der Ledemaarten van de Gerefremeende kerk te Malacca A° 1786.	pp. 6.	1770	1776	1786	
(i)	"Naam Rolle der Ledemaarten van de Gerefremeende kerk te Malacca in den Jaar 1788.	pp. 12.				
(l)	"Naamen der Gemeene Christenen van Malacca."	pp. 4.			No date.	
(m)	"Naamen der Ledemaarten van de Gerefremeende kerk te Malacca als.....	pp. 2. Fragment.	1768	1790	No date.	Apparently this completed in 1790.

Small folios of uniform size, unbound, mostly legible, might be bound together to form one volume, pp. 120.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1773.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
25.	<p>" Trouw Boek van Malacca behelfende de naamen der Perzonen welke in de Gerefremvede kerks—aldaar getrouwd ezijn. Gehonden ten tyde der Regeeringe van den Wee Edelen Gesteeng Heer Gouverneur en Directeur Jan Crans onder den dienst van den Predikant Johannes Theodorus van der Werth en den Proponent Pasq. De Silva. Beginnende met A^o 1773."</p>	<p>Folio, bound, pp. 134, entirely legible.</p>	<p>Commencement. Dutch. 14.2.1773—15.6.1824— Completion. English. 17.5.1831. 14.2.1826</p>	<p>pp. 74-134 contain a record of English Marriages, but all entries have been copied into another Register containing English Marriages only [vide No. 36]. It is interesting to find on p. 48 a record of English <i>Burials</i>, 1825-1829 (following on 1796 of Dutch Marriages); these were entered by a Mr. Hunphreys without stating <i>where</i> the interments took place. On p. 61 there is one entry of an English Marriage in 1806. Dutch Marriages then continue, 1811-1824, and the record concludes with English Marriages, 14 February, 1826 to 17 May 1831.</p>
26.	<p>" Resolutie Boek des rerevaarden kerkemraads van Malacca. Gehonden onder de Regeeringe van den Wel edelen gestrengen Heer Gouverneur en Directeur. Jan Crans onder dienst van den Predikant Johannes Theods. van der Werth en den Proponent Pasqual De Silva. Beginnende met Anno 1773."</p>	<p>Folio, bound, pp. 258, all pp. filled and legible.</p>	<p>24 Mar, 1773. 20 Jan., 1825.</p>	

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1788—1799.

10

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.		Notes.
			Commencement.	Completion.	
27.	" Kerk Boek Bahelsender staat Reekeningen."	Folio (small) bound, pp. 444, about 50 pp. blank, all legible.	1782.	1799.	Papers contained in the book are, as Title shows, chiefly accounts : they are carelessly inserted with- out definite chronological order. Chiefly extracts from previous Minutes of Church Councils, ap- parently a kind of digest for future guide and precedent. 1st. 82 pp. contain Dutch Baptisms to 18 Aug. 1814; on p. 55 1st English Baptism recorded, that of Wilham Charles and Robert George, twin sons of the Rev. William and Rachel Milne, Mis- sionaries, born at sea on 20th April, 1815, and baptised Malacca 4th June, 1815. English Baptisms from 4 Septem- ber 1814—29 July, 1831.
28.	" Extracten Boek Beginnende met het Jaar 1786."	Small folio, bound pp. 74.	1786.	1793.	
29.	" Doop Boek van de Gereformeerde kerk Te Malacca. Beginnende met het Jaar 1790."	Small folio, bound, pp. 94.	Dutch 6.3.1790—13.8.1814 : 4.9.1814—29.7.1831	English 1825—1831	
30.	" Doop Boek Van die Gereformeerde kerke te Malacca. Beginnende met het Jaar 1790."	Folio, bound, pp. 96.	Dutch. 1790—1825	English. 1825—1831	
31.	" Kerk Boek Bahelsende Staat Reekeningen."	Folio, bound, pp. 117.	1 Nov., 1799.	18 Jan., 1808.	Apparently a copy of No. 29, though English Baptism of 4 June, 1815, not recorded. Contains accounts (vouchers) only.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1800—1820.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
			Commencement.	Completion.
			No. of MSS.	
32.	[A Collection of loose Dutch MSS. XIX Century.]		1800—1809 1800—1819 1820—1826	4 7 42 Total 53
				Ecclesiastical * ditto * 28 ditto * 14 State Notifi- cations.
				* These * siastical * are * extracts * of a * most fragmen- * tary charac- * ter. They do * not possess, * the interest * of Ecclesias- * tical MSS. of * previous cen- * tury.
33.	" Kerk Boek Behelsende Staat Rekeningen beginnende met 1st Jan., 1809 tot ultimo Dec., 1819.	Small folio, unbound, pp. 96.	1 Jan. 1809.	31 Dec. 1819. Contains accounts only.
34.	" Kerk Boek Behelsende Staat Rekeningen en lylaagens, beginnende met het Jaar 1820 tot ultimo Dec., 1822."	Small folio, unbound, pp. 39.	1 Jan. 1820.	31 Dec. 1822. Contains accounts only.
35.	[A collection of twenty four Dutch MSS. undated.]			Undated.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1825—1838.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.																																			
36.	"Registry of Baptisms at Malacca. (reverse) "Registry of Marriages * at Malacca." and "Registry of Burials," "Chaplains, Letters."	Extra folio, bound badly, pp. 310. Small folio, bound, pp. 150.	Commencement. 22 Aug. 1825.	Completion. 4 March 1894.																																			
			3 Feb. 1826	24 Oct. 1883.																																			
			19 May 1825. 1831.	7 Jan. 1894. 1858.																																			
37.																																							
38.	"Minute Book"— a book of general Records.	Folio, bound, pp. 350.	25 August 1838. (1834)	In present use (1898).																																			
				<p>No. pages to each</p> <p>pp. 147.</p> <p>pp. 1—69.</p> <p>pp. 70—80 blank</p> <p>pp. 81—167.</p> <p>A full index of contents at beginning, but apparently nothing of importance.</p> <p>This Letter-book seems to have originally been an old record of services cut down into a scrap-book. A date on one of the cut-down pages, (1841), makes it probable that this contained record of services, now missing, between 1847 & 1853. [vide No. 40.]</p> <p>A record of Ecclesiastical proceedings from 1834 to the present day.</p> <p>There are, however, some gaps, viz:—</p> <table> <tr> <td>21.</td> <td>8.</td> <td>47.</td> <td>..</td> <td>31. 1. 51.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1851</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>1853</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1853</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>1856</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1856</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>1858</td> </tr> <tr> <td>18. 5.</td> <td>59.</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>13. 2. 62.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. 6.</td> <td>63.</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>21. 10. 64.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>30. 3.</td> <td>65.</td> <td>..</td> <td>..</td> <td>25. 2. 68.</td> </tr> </table>	21.	8.	47.	..	31. 1. 51.	1851	1853	1853	1856	1856	1858	18. 5.	59.	13. 2. 62.	4. 6.	63.	21. 10. 64.	30. 3.	65.	25. 2. 68.
21.	8.	47.	..	31. 1. 51.																																			
1851	1853																																			
1853	1856																																			
1856	1858																																			
18. 5.	59.	13. 2. 62.																																			
4. 6.	63.	21. 10. 64.																																			
30. 3.	65.	25. 2. 68.																																			

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1825—1838.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
			(a)	<p>A full list of contents has been inserted at the beginning. Among the more important <i>events</i> chronicled are :—</p> <p>Consecration of Ch. Ch. by Bishop, Calcutta 25.8.38 addition of porch. p. 18. further alterations in fabric p. 43. Transfer of Ch. building to Government pp. 91-115, alterations and establishment of Ch. wardens pp. 150-155. Stone font, p. 157. H. Commun. Plate pp. 167-170.</p>
			(b)	<p>Also important <i>resolutions for future guidance</i> re : Ch Bell p. 137. Court House Vaults p. 118 Ch. Mission Fund. pp. 193-5. Ch. Furniture pp. 123, 112, Government undertakings p. 112. Pew Rents p. 139. Ch. keys p. 83. Offertory pp. 150, 83, 189. Ch. Sittings pp. 101, 114, 119. Poor Fund pp. 95, 19, 156, 183. Wardens' duties &c., 108, 107, 111. vestry meetings p. 111.</p> <p>242 written pages, containing in all 153 records, letters &c.,</p>

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1841—1845.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
39.	"Chaplain's Letters, &c., 1841—[1851]"	Small folio, bound, pp. 84.	Commencement. 24 Oct. 1841. Completion. 29 May 1851.	<p>Full index will be found at beginning: contains nothing of great importance.</p> <p>Towards the end, 19 leaves are cut out, with this explanation:—"The pages cut out here were destroyed by desire of the L.d. Bp. of the Diocese and the Ven. the Archdn. of S'pore by me Louis Coutier Biggs.</p> <p>Malacca. Col. Chaplain.</p>
40.	<p>"Record of Spiritual Duties performed in Christs Church Malacca from July 27th 1845."</p> <p>(pp. 1-201. Register of Services.)</p>	Folio, bound, pp. 250.	Commencement. 27 July 1845. Completion. 3 March 1875.	<p>Aug. 8, 1878.</p> <p>This Register of services appears to have also served purpose of Banns Book, as the "Banns" are entered in the "Remarks" column. This "Remarks column" lends the Register an additional interest, as the remarks are fairly full, especially in the early part. Among the more important are:—Col. Chaplain takes duty as Head Master of Free School, p. 15.</p> <p>First notice of a Malay Service, 26.9.1869, p. 36, which continued a long time. First Chinese convert baptised, 28.4. 1872, p. 77. Daily service begun, 25.5.74, but afterwards discontinued, pp. 93 and 100.</p>

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1842—1854.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
	(reverse.)			
41.	[no Title. Chronicle of Bishops' Visitations. [1842—1882.] pp. 1-35.	Small folio, unbound, pp. 54 of which 26 are blank.	20 March 1842. 17 Dec. 1881.	On p. 13 a gap occurs which is <i>partially</i> filled by an unbound Register of Services. Dec. 1849—Feb. 1852. [Vide No. 41.]
42.	"Records of Services from 1849—1852."	Small folio, bound. No. of letters 53.	20 Feb. 1849. 6 April 1865.	Contains also entries by various Colonial Chaplains of arrival in Colony, also by Acting Chaplains and Missionaries, and visiting Clergymen—the last entry being that of the Primary Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Singapore, Sarawak and Labuan, in 1882. This partially fills gap in No. 40 extending from 1845—1853, which is accounted for by the mutilation of No. 37, thus leaving only 3 years to be recorded. Unlike No. 40, this book has little of interest in its "Remarks column." It is merely a record of Services.
43.	"Ecclesiastical Notifications from the Diocesan, Archdeacon and Register &c. 1854. 1865."	Small folio, bound. No. of letters 53.	18 Sept. 1854. 6 April 1865.	Among other papers of interest are:—From Archbn. Bratt, announcing Bishop of Calcutta's Day of Humiliation on account of

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS MALACCA.—Continued.

1854—1859.

16

No.	Title.	Description.	Dates.	Notes.
	(reverse) "Notifications from Government Ecclesiastical Department 1859. 1865."	No. of Notifications 19.	19 July 1859. 15 June 1865.	<p>Indian Mutiny with Form of Service, 8.7. 1857. Bishop Cotton's first circular, 23.11.58. Giving Service on suppression of the Mutiny, 28.7.59. Letter from Bishop Cotton anticipation separation of Labuan from Calcutta Diocese and severance of Straits Settlements from the Government of India, 29.7.1861.</p> <p>Bishop. Cotton's Circulars re the Indian Famine, 25.1.61, re illegal marriages, 2.6.62, re alteration in Prayer for Supreme Courts, 18.7. 62, re mural Tablets, 9.8.62, re alteration in Conf. Service for adult converts, 28.8.62, re Board of Education for Calcutta Diocese 12.4.63 re Marriage Act, 8.7.64.</p> <p>Among others: Enactment for closing "The Christian Burial Ground after 1st May 1861" and announcement of opening a new one. 19 Nov. 1860.</p> <p>The old one—St. Anthony's Cemetery.</p> <p>"The new one—Bukit Serindeh."</p>

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1857—1859.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
43.	[No. Title. 1st 2pp. Register of Services pp. 3-20 Letters.]	Extra folio bound, pp. 500, of which only 20 used.	Commencement. 6 Oct. 1855. (Record of Services.) Completion. 22 March 1856. 1 Jan. 1857. (Letters.) Oct. 1862.	This is the work of the Rev. W. S. Wright.
44.	"Girls' School Record Book." Copies of documents now in possession of W. Rodyk, Esq. Treasurer, G. F. Hose, Malacca. Secretary M. G. S. Sept. 6th 1869.	Small folio, bound, pp. 166.	2 Feb. 1859. 30 July 1894.	<p>A full list of contents at beginning. Among other items of interest are:—Resolution of London Missionary Soc., giving old chapel at Kubu for Girls' school, 1859, p. 11. Sale of Kubu property 1869 and building new school at Tranquerah, p. 49.</p> <p>School closed and not to be reopened unless more than 3 pupils, 1874, p. 73. Reopened at Parsonage by Mrs. BIGGS, 1875, p. 75. Held in old convicts' Hospital, 1876, p. 83. Small Bungalow on St. Paul's Hill granted for school 1877, p. 84 [Query, was not this the convicts' Hospital? T. J. H.] Boys under 8 years admitted, 1879, p. 93. Grant increased to \$600 on appointment of permanent English Mistress, 1878, p. 98. Grant diminished to \$300, 1882 p. 134. Grant increased by "result money" 1884, p. 150.</p>

1864—1871.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.		Notes.
			Commencement.	Completion.	
45.	"Poor Fund Receipt Book."	Small folio, unbound, pp. 180	January 1864.	June 1879.	The Bishop's sketch of History of school, 1887 p. 152.
46.	"Banns Book, Christ Church, Malacca."	Em 8 vo. bound, leather, pp. 150.	10 Oct. 1869. (in present use.)	6 Feb. 1898.	School closed in 1894 owing to insufficient number of Protestant children in Malacca.
47.	"Proceedings of the Christ Church Mission, Malacca."	Small folio, bound, pp. 50.	29 June 1870.	15 May 1889.	Contains Banns of 26 marriages during 29 years.
48.	"Christ Church Mission, Malacca. List of subscribers, and Benefactors."	Small quarto bound, pp. 184.	19 April 1870.	30 April 1894.	(1) Contains Committee Minutes, Reports, Balance Sheets, Subscription lists, Letters &c. connected with the mission. (2) Commences with Minutes of Meeting held 29 June 1870 to inaugurate Mission.
49.	"Christ Church Mission, Malacca. Register of Baptisms."	.4—to Chinese book unbound pp. 13. (of entries.)	8 January 1871.	[1883 ?]	No date after 1878, but the last 17 entries made by Mr. BIGGS who returned to "act" here for one year in 1883.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1871—1883.

No.	Title.	Description.	Commencement.	Date.	Notes.
50.	[No title; a record of Confirmation of Chinese converts.]	4—to Chinese book, unbound, pp. 4 (of entries).	15 Jan. 1871.	Completion. 24 June 1878.	Bears throughout the signature of "WALTER, Labuan and Sarawak."
51.	"Malacca Girls' School Journal."	Small folio, bound, pp. 136.	27 March 1876.	29 Feb. 1892.	
52.	"Marriages Register."	Folio, bound, pp. 62 of which 5 only are filled.	3 Aug. 1876.	23 Dec. 1893.	
53.	Malacca Girls' School upper division Register of attendance 1877	Folio, unbound, pp. 12.		1877.	
54.	Malacca Girls' School lower division Register of attendance 1877	Folio, unbound, pp. 12.		1877.	
55.	"Malacca Girls' School Book of School Fees 1877—1884."	Small folio, bound, pp. 72.	No. 1877.	Nov. 1884.	
56.	"Malacca Girls' School Register of Daily attendance 1878—1879."	Folio, unbound, pp. 16.	Oct. 1878.	Sept. 1879.	
57.	"Malacca Girls' School Register of Daily attendance 1879—1881."	Folio, unbound, pp. 16.	Oct. 1879.	Aug. 1881.	
58.	Malacca Girls' School upper division Register of attendance 1877 [also 1822.]	Folio, unbound, pp. 24.	1877 and Jan. 1882.	Dec. 1882.	
59.	Register of Services, Christ Church, Malacca 1883—1891. pp. 1-120.	Folio, bound, pp. 150.	6 Jan. 1883.	13 Dec. 1891.	* The "reverse" of this book, besides Bishop's Visitations, contains entries of following:—11 Oct. 85, New Harmonium purchased \$80. 8. Mar. 91, wooden gates fixed to side doors. 3 Aug. 91, six new lamps in sanctuary (Chancel?). 14 Sept. 91, Chancel paved with marble Oct. 91, Seremban placed under charge of Malacca Chaplain.

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued. 1884—1892.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
			Commencement.	Completion.
10.	Bishop's Visitations * 1883-1891 pp. 1-6. "Register and Minute Book of St. Mark's Church, Seremban, Sungai Ujong."	Small folio, bound, leather, pp. 58.	15 Dec. 1883. 1884. in present use (1898).	Novr. 91, five pews removed from West of Church.
11.	Malacca Girls' School attendance Register, 1886-1888.	Folio, unbound, pp. 24.	Sept. 1886.	Aug. 1888.
12.	Christ Church Poor Fund Pensioners Book, 1888-1891.	Small 4-to ½ bound, pp. 16.	1 Jan. 1888.	18 July 1891.
13.	[Malacca Girls' School. 2 loose sheets of Registers.]	pp. 4.	Sept. 1888.	Dec. 1888.
14.	"Malacca Girls' School attendance Register, 1889-1892."	Folio, unbound, pp. 30.	Feb. 1889.	July 1892.
15.	"Malacca Girls' School attendance Register, 1889-1890."	Folio, unbound, pp. 12.	Sept. 1889.	Aug. 1890.
16.	"Register of Services at St. Mark's Church, Seremban."	Long 4-to ½ bound, pp. 180.	11 Oct. 1891.	in present use (1898).
17.	Register of attendance at Christ Ch. Sunday Sch. Malacca, Feb. 28 [—?]"	Small 4-to ½ bound pp. 16.	28 Feb. 1892.	12 Dec. 1893.
18.	"The Girls' School, Malacca, 1892."	Folio, bound, leather, pp. 500, 68 only used.	1 March 1892.	31 Aug. 1894.
19.	"Bishop's Visitations."	Folio, bound, leather, pp. 450.	1892. in present use (1898)	A log-book containing results of examination, visit &c.,

CATALOGUE OF CHURCH RECORDS, MALACCA.—Continued.

1892—1894.

No.	Title.	Description.	Date.	Notes.
70.	(reverse) "Services Register." "Attendance Register of Girls' School." [A Collection of loose MSS.]	Folio, unbound, pp. 14.	Commencement. 2 March 1892. Aug. 1892.	Completion. 1 April 1894. Sept. 1893.
71.		No. of MSS. 72.	Sept. 1892.	April 1898.
72.	Attendance Register [Girl's School, Malacca.]	Folio, unbound, pp. 13.	Aug. 1893.	Aug. 1894.
73.	"Register of Baptisms at Christ Church, Malacca."	Long double 4-to, bound in leather and contained in a tin box.	1894.	In present use (1898)
74.	"Register of Marriages"			
75.	"Register of Burials"			
76.	Register of Services at Christ Church, Malacca.	Long double 4-to, bound. (Similar to Seremban Register.)	25 March 1894.	In Present use (1898.)

Comprising polling papers, copies of letters, &c., &c.,
The last register used.

Note Nos. 38. 46. 60. 59. 73. 74. 75
and 76 are kept in the Church
safe in the Vestry.

APPENDIX A Continuous List of Registers.

Baptisms.		Marriages.		Burials.		Services.		Bishops' Visitations.	
Date.	No. in Catalogue.	Date.	No. in Catalogue.	Date.	No. in Catalogue.	Date.	No. in Catalogue.	Date.	No. in Catalogue.
1642—1688.	2	1648—1772.	3	1650—1700.	List prefixed to 21.				
1689—1709.	8			1709—1721.	16				
1709—1742.	18			1750. '61. '69. '70. '72.	24 <i>a.d.e.</i>				
1742—1789.	23			'76. '68. '86. '90.	<i>f.g.h.k.</i>				
1790—1831.	29 & 30	1773—1831.	25						
1825—1894.	36	1826—1883.	36 (re-verse)	1825—1894	36 (re-verse)				
Chinese Converts. 1871—1883 ?	49					1845—1875. [1845—1852 gap.] 1845—1849 partly fills gap in No. 40 leaving 1845—49 vacant. 6.9. 1855—22.2. 1856. (1875 Gap of eight years) 1883—1891. 1892—1894.	40 41 43 40	1838. First visit to the Bishop of Calcutta to consecrate the Church.	38 pp. 1—6.
1894—1898.	73	1876—1893. (overlapping No. 36 by seven years.) 1894—1898.	74	1894—1898.	75	1894—1898.	59 69 (re-verse) 76	1691—1898.	69
1884—1898.	60	1884—1898.	60	<i>S. Mark's Church, Seremban.</i> 1884—1898.	60	1891—1898.	66		

APPENDIX B.

List of Chaplains, Dutch and English, officiating at Malacca, 1641—1898.

	1641	Jan Sehontanus.
	1647	Abraham Fierens.
	1648	Balthasar De Weber.
	1650	Gualbherus Watken.
	1655	Johannes a Breijl.
	1658	Theodorus Sas.
August,	1669	Gerardus Swem.
May,	1670	Jacobus Maxivel.
July,	1672	Herbertus Leydetker.
September,	1674	Ludolphus Varik.
October,	1678	Bernardus Coop a Groen.
December,	1681	Bartholomeus Gronwels.
November,	1682	Cyprianus Sibenius.
May,	1690	Philippus Goodtingk.
December,	1700	Johannes Barton.
December,	1704	Johannes Stampiock van Rotterdam.
January,	1709	Jacobus van der Voem.
May,	1712	Jacobus van Spyck.
February,	1717	Godofredus Hoogendorp.
July,	1719	Henrivus Mylacus.
September,	1725	Adriaan Ras.
August,	1726	Christian Wyardi Plesman.
October,	1736	Adam Willebrand Meerkamp.
September,	1737	Paulus Francesus de Pommerolles.
September,	1738	Liberebily Augustus van Behmer.
July,	1741	Pirardus Brouwer van Oostermeer.
May,	1748	Gerardus Cornelis Zastiaener Gondamus.
September,	1756	Solomon Van Echten Van Haarlem.
October,	1762	Johannes Theodorus van de Werth.
May,	1772	Pasgual De Silvan.
July,	1777	Hotzeens Petus Augustus Theodorus Van Huysum.
September,	1785	Abraham Staroscky.
May,	1793	Hendrick William Ballot.
June,	1796	Abraham Thomas Clarke (Missionary.)
September,	1811	Johannes Cornelis H. A. Cleever.
May,	1813	William Milne (Missionary).
September,	1817	Theodorus Medhaardts.
August,	1818	John Slater (Missionary.)
February,	1822	James Humphreys.
July,	1824	John Akersloot.
April,	1829	Robert Burn, B. A.
September,	1830	Samuel Kidd (Missionary).
August,	1831	Johsaiah Hughes (1st Chaplain under the Bishop of Calcutta.)
November,	1840	James Legge, M.A.
May,	1845	F. W. Lindstedt, M.A.
September,	1855	W. B. Wright.
February,	1860	William Hackett.
October,	1865	F. R. Michell.
April,	1867	William Henry Gomes.
February,	1868	George Frederick Hose, M.A.
January,	1873	Samuel Robert Dingley, M.A.
May,	1874	Louis Coutier Biggs, M.A.
February,	1881	James Holland.
July,	1882	J. C. Zehnder.

List of Chaplains, &c.—Continued.

November,	1882	William Everingham.
January,	1883	John Perham.
March,	1883	Louis Coutier Biggs, M.A.
June,	1884	William Everingham.
June,	1889	} No resident Chaplain.
August,	1891	
August,	1891	W. H. C. Dunkerley, M.A.
June,	1897	T. J. Hardy, B.A.
January,	1898	W. E. Hodgkinson.

Further Notes upon A Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula

(Vol. XIV, Part III).

The following notes have been received by me since the last Part of this Journal was printed. Dato Douglas' experience of the country is long and intimate while Mr. Baker's notes, coming as they do from a practical gold-miner resident for 25 years in the district of which he writes, are most valuable. Once more the spirit of co-operation is most gratifying.—ROLAND BRADDELL.

Dato F. W. Douglas.

p. 33. "The Bernam would be a bit better but the passage across the Peninsula by the Bernam is too arduous to have been a trade route." One can take a fairly large prahu right up the Bernam (the tide runs up to Changkat Mentri) then up the Slim to where Slim village is now. One can go even further with dugouts up beyond the hot springs and from there is a really easy path over into Pahang used in my time even for bringing tin over from Pahang both by elephant and by pack in rotan baskets. Thence direct down stream to the heart of the Ulu Pahang gold mines on the Medang (Buffalo Reef, etc.), Tanum, Tui, etc. The recent discoveries of the stone graves on the Slim prove that this has always been one of the trade routes. I think that there is something in the idea that the three rivers were the Bernam, the Muar and the Pahang.

"Buffalo reef" why? Was there one in Australia or did the early English miners find a number of buffalo bones which were the ordinary changkol of early Malays? Berkeley found numbers at old mines in Upper Perak.

p. 40. You write of the Sejarah Malayu as coming from Goa and the inference is that you think it came to Acheh from Goa in India but the Goa of the Malays (Gua caves) is in the Celebes and it is said in the foreword that it is a Malay tale. "Hamba dengar ada hikayet Malayu di-bawah uleh orang deri Goa." The caves in the island of Celebes are famous and Brooke of Sarawak made a journey to see them in the country of Wajao which was once part of the old Kingdom of Luwu, whence come our Selangor royal family, in the gulf of Boni as it is called now.

Note.—The following passage from Sir Frank Swettenham's account of his journey across the Malay Peninsula by the route to which Dato Douglas refers is reprinted from J.R.A.S. (S.B.) Vol. XV, pp. 34-35:—

"So far as I know, this is the first time the Peninsula has been crossed from sea to sea by a European from any point North of the Muar River, that is to say, in the wider part where the journey can only be accomplished by crossing

the main range of mountains which forms the backbone of the Peninsula. I believe that Mr. C. Bozzolo crossed from the Galena mines in Patani to the mouth of the Muda River in Kedah, passing however North of the main dividing range.

Fourteen years ago I saw in Klang a Frenchman who told me he had three times crossed the Peninsula from Klang to Trengganu, but there are very strong reasons for doubting that statement.

Some years ago Messrs. Daly and O'Brien ascended the Muar River, crossed a few hundred yards of dry land by portage and descended the Bra, a tributary of the Pahang River, having its embouchure about eighty miles above Pekan, while Mr. W. Knaggs, I am told, has just crossed by the Muar and Triang Rivers, the mouth of the Triang being a few miles further from Pekan than that of the Bra. The shortest crossing of all is said by the Malays to be by the Muar, Rumpin and Mentiga Rivers.

We have crossed the Peninsula by probably the longest route, unless the ascent of the Muda and descent of the Patani Rivers be longer and feasible. The Bernam river, the largest in some senses of those flowing into the Straits of Malacca, is the furthest North of those rivers which, rising in the main range, flow East and West to the Straits of Malacca, both the Krian and Muda Rivers being stated to take their rise in mountains other than the main chain. The Pahang River again is universally admitted to be the longest navigable river on either side of the Peninsula, and though we did not descend the centre or parent stream, the Jelei, there is probably not very much difference in navigable length between that and the Lipis, and there is no recognised crossing from the western to the eastern side of the range which would take the traveller to the head waters of the Jelei, nor any easily navigable river on the western side that would lead up to a point on the western slopes of the main chain opposite to the source of the Jelei. When it is considered that the measured distance on the map from Kuala Bernam to Kuala Pahang is, as the crow flies, one hundred and seventy miles, the route by which we have travelled covering a distance of four hundred and two miles ascending the largest river on the western side of the Peninsula and descending the longest on the eastern, may be considered fairly direct."

Sir Frank says (p. 2) that the influence of the tide is felt for 80 miles from the mouth of the Bernam and that Kuala Slim was 120 miles from the mouth of the Bernam river "by the present channel." There are references to gold at pp. 6-7, 9, 10, 16, which show clearly that the route went through a good country—R.B.

Mr. V. B. C. Baker.

p. 29. RIVER OF CEA—the Sai or Telubin delta in Patani. Worthy of close investigation in connection with the history of Pahang, as the home of the “orang siam” or “men of Sia” who mined gold so efficiently and extensively in Pahang in the centuries before its invasion by the Malaccan Malays. These miner colonists were evidently of pre-Thai stock.

Encyl. Brit. 14th Ed. under “Siam.” “There was a friendly interchange of letters between James I and the King of Siam, who had some Englishmen in his service, and, when the ships visited Sia (which was “as great a city as London”), or the queen of Patani, they were hospitably received and accorded privileges.”

About the same time, the beginning of the XVIIth century, Eredia tells that Patane was the first seat of the Empire of the Malays in 7° N., lat.....and that it contained, even in his day, “large gold mines, which have been discovered in the mountains and ranges and in other parts of the territory along the course of the River of Cea where one finds a large quantity of gold in the form of dust and small grains which is *taken for sale to the port of Malacca*.....” He then says that Pahang was the second seat of the Empire of the Malays and that it was a port just as much frequented by merchants, because of the gold from its mines. The Pahang gold was “nowadays” *taken to the port of Malacca for sale*. (Quoted in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV). There are many reasons for the diversion of exports to Malacca at this time, amongst others, the incursion of Minangkabau Malays into Ulu Pahang, and the ascendancy of ex-Malacca Malays at Kuala Pahang.

The race of the “men of Sai” is uncertain. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Part II, pages 9 and 10) notes that Ligor, it appears, was a State of mixed population but under Malay rule. The King of Ligor, and Lord of Tambralinga (Tembiling?) led two hostile expeditions against Ceylon about the middle of the 13th century with Javaka (Malay) forces. The Thai over-lords (the Thais, Sukhothai) obtained supremacy over Ligor about 1280 A.D., and afterwards suzerainty over Sai and Pahang during the 14th century) apparently did not interfere with the Ligor dynasty in Pahang. They merely exacted tribute, and established settlements. In about 1450 A.D., the Malacca Malays invaded Pahang, by sea, and established themselves at Pekan. About 1500 A.D. the King of Ligor, on instructions from the King of Siam, invaded Pahang *via the land route down the Tembeling*. This was probably an attempted reassertion of the pre-Thai suzerainty.

The men of Sai who colonised Pahang were miners, not seafarers—probably of stock other than Malay. They followed gold and tin up the Telubin (Sai) and crossed over into the

Pergau and thence up the Lebir and over, *via* the Sat, into the Tembeling valley. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Part II, page 10) mentions "the river Tembeling, a highway of communication between Pahang and the north," and on page 9 "the river Tembeling which the discovery of numerous neolithic and early iron-age implements there indicates was at one time a thickly populated district." Some of them would take the alternative route up the Galas and over *via* Pulai into Jelei—the route followed by the railway to-day. Hence the importance of Sai, which as related by Eredia tapped so many goldfields.

These "orang siam" these miners of Sai, thus penetrated into Pahang by what seems to-day the back door, and spread from the centre outwards—exactly the opposite to their successors, the Malaccan Malays, and subsequent raiders who penetrated it from seaboard inwards, *i.e.*, from the east coast of the Peninsula at Kuala Pahang or the west coast *via* the Bera or Serting (the Penarican of Eredia). The gold-fields of the centre of the Peninsula had at that time three main outlets, at Sai, at Kuala Pahang, and at or near Malacca. In the time of Ptolemy also there were three, but his Palandas in the south had dropped out 1000 years later and its place been taken by the Sai in the north. The River Khrysoanas was probably the Malacca or Muar outlet, the River Attabas the Pahang outlet—the conspicuous mountain near its mouth is still called Gunong Tapis. It is abundantly clear that our early records are the work of mariners, or historians taking down the stories of seamen, and that they are influenced by the seaman's mentality. These men were chiefly interested in ports. But the miners and other inhabitants inland, who brought the gold and other commodities to the ports were landmen—they followed valleys, not necessarily travelling on the rivers. Judging by the places they worked, they generally travelled overland, like the still existing hill-men in the Peninsula, as opposed to the seafaring and riverine Malays. They probably used elephants, in preference to boats. Hence many of the apparent difficulties of the old records. The seafarers and river-folk in their accounts assumed continuous water transport in the interior, whereas often it did not exist, and was not needed.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note how Bahman, a man of aboriginal extraction and a gold-miner at Semanthan, naturally used the overland route up the Tembeling into Kelantan and Trengganu after his trouble in 1893. He was chased by Clifford over the same route in 1893 and 1895. Clifford and his force ascended the Kuantan River to the Ulu Chiri and thence over into the Ulu Tembeling, an alternative overland route, which requires investigation. It is quite unexplored and unknown by Europeans or Malays even to-day. Che Lambak, who in his youth accompanied Clifford, died recently at Kuala Kenau, near S. Lembing.

p. 29. ADEA.—There is a difficulty about the identification of Adea with Endau. Endau is off the “gold-belt,” and it is unlikely that a piece of auriferous ore of the remarkable size stated would be found near there. But, of course, the difficult passage may merely mean that the King of Pahang was staying there at the time he sent the wonderful specimen to Malacca. It may have been mined elsewhere. Eredia does not say that the specimen was mined at Adea. A slab of auriferous quartz $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long by a yard wide, if even only one foot thick, would weigh over two tons. Nearly all the references to gold in Malaya refer to alluvial mining, but this is a definite reference to lode-mining.

Is it not possible that ADEA is not a place-name at all, but merely the Malay word “hadiah,” meaning a gift or present (between equals), such as this slab of gold-ore was?

p. 33. ATTABAS.—Can this name possibly have any association with Tapis? This is the name of a very prominent mountain, Gunong Tapis, 4,958 feet, lat. N. $4^{\circ} 01'$, long. E. $102^{\circ} 54'$.

On the map there is no obvious connection, but at sea, off Kuala Pahang or Kuala Kuantan, it is outstanding on the horizon, a noteworthy object and landmark. Sailing up the river Pahang, near Pekan, for many miles it is visible and conspicuous straight ahead up the river. It is still more conspicuous near the old mouth of the river, Pahang Tua, a few miles to the north. Even to-day local people pronounce its name more like Tapas or Tapus, than Tapis, and it is a landmark for fishermen.

The Luit, one of the tributary valleys of the Pahang, which was very extensively worked for gold in ancient times, has its source near the south-western slopes of Gunong Tapis. In many ways the inhabitants of this Luit district still differ from their neighbours, particularly in appearance, character, and customs. (See J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Part II, page 6). The map comprising your Plate III may indicate the Luit as a tributary near the mouth of Attabas Fl. It is one of the auriferous areas mentioned by Skinner.

By a coincidence, an account of one of the rare ascents of Gunong Tapis is published in the same volume of J.R.A.S.M.B. as your paper (Vol. XIV, Part III, at page 333, Symington).

It would be interesting to have the opinion of Mr. W. Linehan regarding this; he knows the locality.

p. 63. KALONKA.—Were the place names which Ptolemy collected from sailors about 150 A.D. likely to have affinities with the Malay language? It seems more than doubtful whether any of the Malay languages were spoken in the Malay Peninsula 1800 years ago¹. Ancient place-names may still survive, more or less

¹ But surely that is not so? R.B.

corrupted: that is a different matter. Were this not so, one might suggest a connection between Kalonka and "Kulun" (Ka-hulu-an—towards the interior)—as in Bangkulun (Bencoolen).

With all respect to Mr. C. N. Maxwell, (note on page 63), as a miner I would submit that "Kolong" means underground workings and not shallow mining depressions, or fossickers' pits. Wilkinson gives under "kolong" as the first meaning:—"space *under* anything, usually the covered space *under* a Malay dwelling," and as the fifth meaning:—"shallow alluvial mine, surface digging."

Now I believe the type of mine working implied by "kolong" is that sometimes referred to as "lombong siam." In this method, vertical shafts were sunk at intervals of about 4 fathoms apart, down to the "karang" or alluvial wash, sometimes as deep as 40 feet. The wash was then removed by gouging it out around the bottom of the shaft as far as possible, timbers being skilfully placed and advanced overhead (spiles), as work proceeded, to obviate collapse of the overburden. In this way, the underlying alluvial bed was extracted over huge areas without removing the over-burden, or disturbing the surface other than by the numerous shaft openings. A small scale example of modern coal-mining practice. The old miners in Pahang used carefully shaped timbers, properly "joggled" or joined. One of their implements for shaping the timber was probably the iron socketted tool, now known as "tulang mawas." This was probably held by means of a loop of thick rotan passed through the ferrule or socket of the tool and under the armpit—hence the curious alignment of the ferrule or socket, quite unsuitable for a wooden haft—and hence the legend of the "iron forearm." It was worked from the elbow joint, not the wrist. See illustrations in "Malaya," by R. O. Winstedt, 1923, at page 156. Also in "A History of Malaya," Winstedt, at page 14 (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIII, Part I, 1935).

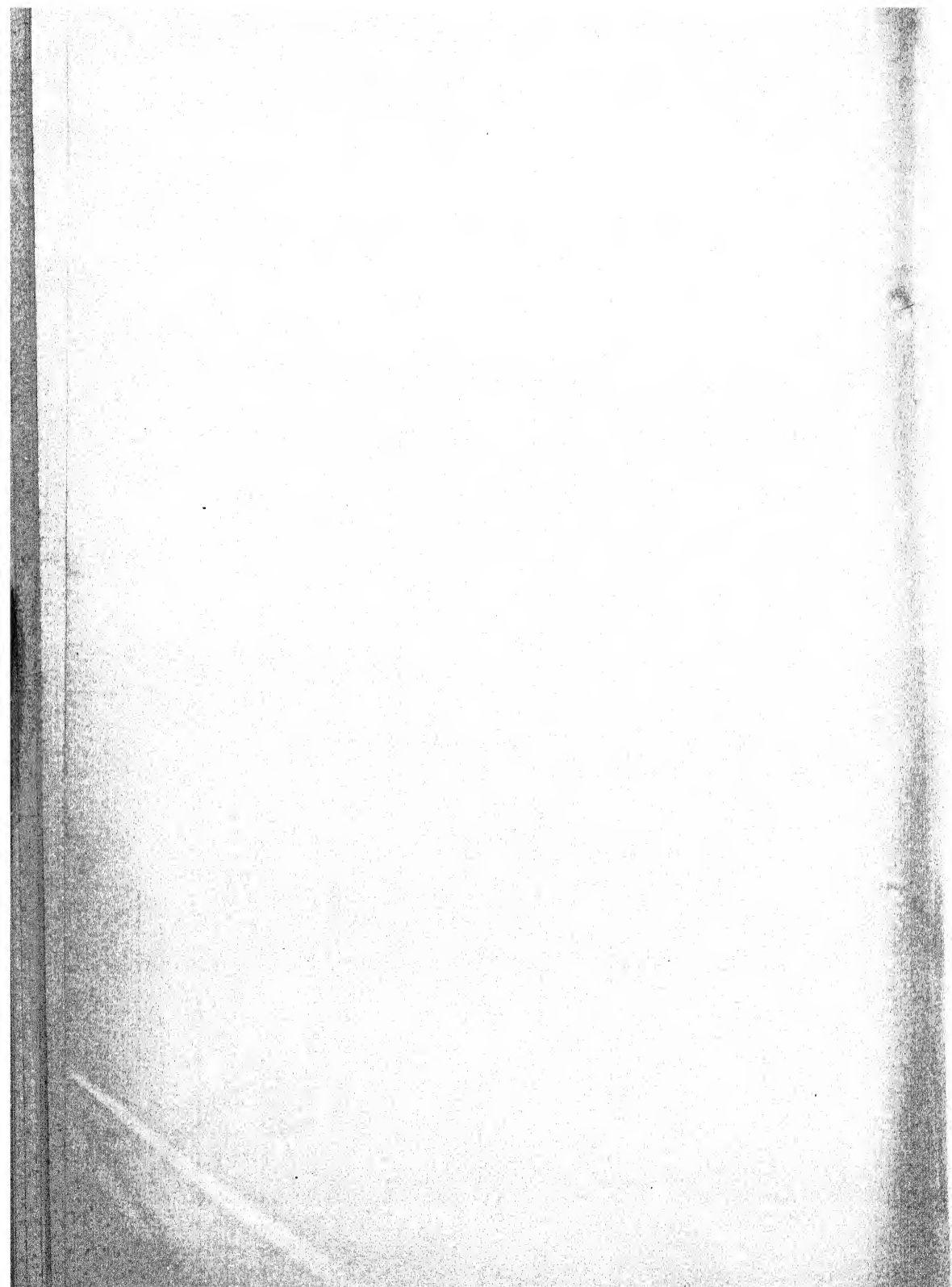
The cavity under the supporting timberwork would naturally suggest associations with the space under the floor of a house. Moreover, when abandoned the shafts collapse and become filled up, and all that is visible on surface is the numerous shallow depressions marking the sites of the vertical shafts—hence Wilkinson's fifth meaning, and Maxwell's definition, connected with the idea of concavity. If the gold or tin had been extracted from shallow surface pits, the Malay word would be "galian" or diggings in the Australian sense. If from a large opencast working, then "lombong." My idea is that "Kolong" is associated with timber spiles, forming a confined space. That it belongs to the series kalang (crossbar), kelang (obstruction, thwart), kelong (fishtrap with compartments), kolong; rather than to kalong (curved neck ornament), kelang (millstone), kelong (concave).

Incidentally, it is quite possible that Scrivenor's ill-founded remarks and misapprehensions re gold mining in Pahang, to which

you refer at the bottom of page 28, were based on a cursory inspection of some of these apparent shallow depressions in the top of the overburden, which are not mines in themselves, but merely vestiges of the mine workings below.

In Sungei Lembing we have two ancient workings on a hillside, one known as "Kolong Dalam" and the other as "Kolong Pahat." These names go back long before the advent of Europeans. In the former the ancient miners penetrated down to a depth of about 200 feet vertically below surface, *i.e.*, until standing water and comparatively hard rock were reached. Both old mines are on the outcrops of a lode, and were essentially underground mines—by no means shallow surface workings. "Kolong" in this district, where lode-mining has been continuous for at least many generations, probably many centuries, is always used in the sense of deep or underground workings, as opposed to shallow surface diggings.

p. 37 (and p. 25). KOLE.—I fancy the claims of Kuala Kuantan. It is about the right distance north of Kuala Pahang. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Part II, page 251) says, and I agree, "The importance of the Kuantan river lay in the fact that it had the best, and in monsoon weather the only practicable harbour in Pahang, that the head-land at its estuary often provided a land-fall for Chinese mariners, etc." The same conditions probably held good in Ptolemy's time, 1800 years ago.



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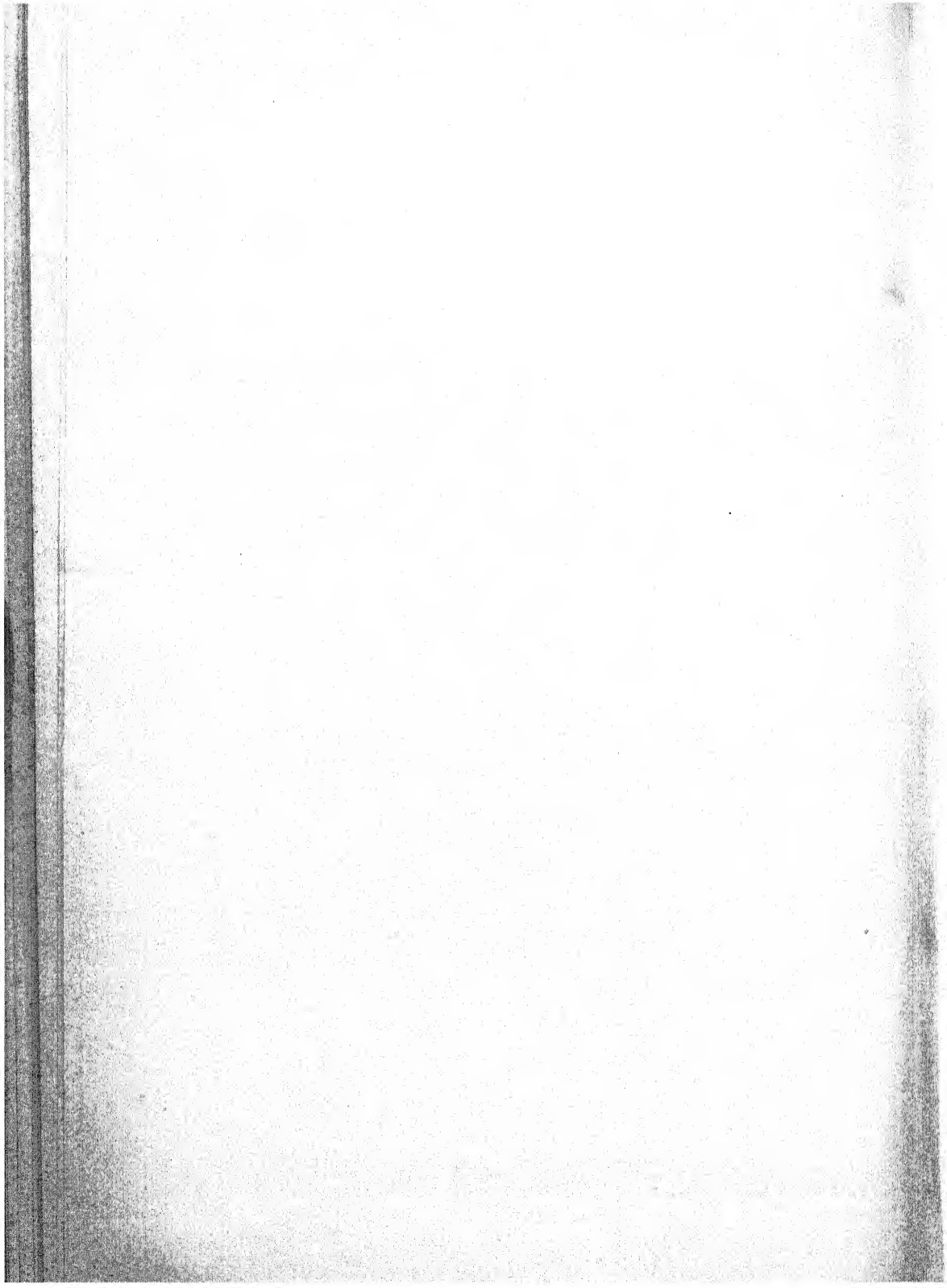
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MUHAMMADAN MYSTICISM

IN

SUMATRA

BY

RAYMOND LEROY ARCHER, Ph. D.

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PREFACE.



The work of this thesis has been carried out in the hope of securing a body of information on the character of Muhammadan Mysticism (*Sūfism*) to be found in the Dutch East Indies, and particularly that type of mysticism found in the Island of Sumatra. While there are large groups of Muhammadans in the other islands of the Dutch East Indies, yet no other groups have been quite so loyal to the faith of Islam as have the natives of Western and Northern Sumatra (Acheh). Since it is recognized among students of Muhammadanism that there is a distinct type of Sūfism to be found in Sumatra such a study would seem to give promise of much interest.

While most all of the outstanding Muhammadan teachers of mysticism received their training in Mecca, or in other parts of Arabia, under the influence of orthodox Muhammadanism, yet the influence coming down from India and the customs and beliefs of the animistic groups in Sumatra, who later became Muslim, made it inevitable that more or less unorthodox elements would be adopted by the native Muhammadans, without any intention on their part to stray from the path of correct Muslim teaching.

In carrying out the work of this thesis a chapter is devoted to the general subject of Muhammadan mysticism in order to form a background for that which follows. Then there follows a chapter listing the available manuscripts on the subject of Muhammadan mysticism in the Malay language together with descriptive notes on the same. The relation of this chapter on Sūfī literature in the Malay language to the subject of this thesis will be evident when it is realized that the Malay language is the chief medium through which religious instruction is conducted in Sumatra.

Following the above mentioned chapters there is a translation of al-Hikam from the Malay language with notes from the Malay commentary in connection with the Hikam. The Hikam is one of the principal texts used by the teachers of Sūfism in Sumatra.

Al-Hikam al-'Ata 'iya was written by Ibn 'ata Allah, an Arabic mystic, who was a member of the Shadhili order. He was a most vigorous opponent of Ibn Taimīya. Ibn 'ata Allah died in the Madrasa al-Mansūriya in Cairo in the year 1309. A. D.

The printed edition of Hikam has two commentaries in Arabic one of which is by Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin 'Abbad al-Nafzi ar-Rondi. The other commentary is by 'Abd Allah al-Shar-kāwī and is found on the margin of the book. There are also two

anonymous Malay translations of the Hikam, one of which includes a very full commentary also in Malay, a translation of which is found in chapter IV of this thesis.

Difficulty was frequently encountered in the work of translating the Malay text, partly because the author of the Malay translation and commentary used a poor style of Malay, and partly because he attempted to make the Malay translation follow the Arabic idiom. In order to make the meaning of the Hikam easier to grasp a gist of the translation has been prepared in a separate chapter with paragraph headings in addition to the translation itself.

The final chapter deals with Sūfiism as found in Sumatra, shows the type of mysticism prevailing there and its variation from the so called orthodox Sūfiism.

The author desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor Dr. W. G. Shellabear of the College of Missions of the Hartford Seminary Foundation; Hartford, Conn., U.S.A., who served as his ordianrius while persuing his study for the decree of doctor of philosophy in that institution.

The author is also deeply obligated to such scholars of Mohammadan religion and philosophy as Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, Dr. Duncan B. Macdonald, and Dr. Th. G. Simon for the help their writings have afforded him in the course of this study, as well as to a number of Bataks and Malays of Sumatra whose knowledge of native life and customs in that country has been of great value to the writer.

R. L. ARCHER.

1st September, 1937,

Singapore.

A STATEMENT CONCERNING MUHAMMADAN MYSTICISM.

Among Muhammadans the term *Sūfī* expresses what we mean by the word "mystic"; *tasawwaf* expresses what we understand by the word "mysticism."

The derivation of the name "*Sūfī*" was long a subject of dispute. Most Muhammadan mystics favor the theory that the term is derived from the Arabic word *safā* (purity), and that the *Sūfī* is one of the elect who has been purified from all worldly defilement. Others would connect the term with *saff* (rank), as though the *Sūfī* were spiritually in the first rank in virtue of his communion with God. Still others say that it comes from *suffa* (bench), referring to a covered bench outside the mosque built by Muhammad at Medina. In the early days of Islam certain poor Muslims, who possessed no house or lodging place, would take shelter on this bench and were known as the *Ahl al-suffa* (people of the bench). However, Qushairi and other *Sūfīs* admit that none of these explanations is defensible from the etymological point of view.

The author of the oldest extant Arabic treatise on *Sūfism*, Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, declares that, in his opinion, the word "*sūfī*" is derived from *sūf* (wool), since, according to many traditions and narratives, the woollen raiment was worn by the prophets and was the badge of the saints and the elect.

During the first two centuries of the Muhammadan era garments of coarse wool were worn by the common people, and especially by those who followed an ascetic way of life. The expression *labisa 'l-sūf* (he clad himself in wool) occurs frequently in early Muslim literature and signifies that the person to whom it is applied has renounced the world and has become an ascetic. At a later period, when asceticism passed into mysticism, *labisa 'l-sūf* generally means "he became a *Sūfī*". The old Muslim ascetics who clothed themselves in wool borrowed the practice from Christian hermits or monks. There is a tradition (*hadīth*) put into the mouth of the Prophet which states that Jesus himself used to wear such a garment. Although the circumstances of its origin are obscure, the tradition seems to have gained currency during the period of transition from asceticism to mysticism about the end of the second century A. H. Some writers say that as late as 719 A.D. the cloak was regarded as foreign style and faithful Muhammadans were urged not to use it. However, in spite of this fact it has come to be regarded as an eminently orthodox Muslim fashion.

Dr. R. A. Nicholson feels that no weight can be attached to the apocryphal tradition which seeks to prove that the appellation existed in the Prophet's time, or to even throw it back into the

pre-Islamic age. Yet the Sūfīs of the third and fourth centuries (A.H.), who claim to be the true successors of Muhammad, consider themselves fully justified in fabricating evidence in support of their assertion.

It appears that the first Arabic writer to use the term *Sūfī* was Jahiz of Basra (869 A.D.) who refers to the Sūfīs among the pietists (al-Sūfiya mina 'l-nussah). So far as any evidence can be discovered it seems that at first the name *Sūfī* was clearly confined to Kufa. Then within a space of fifty years the term denoted all the mystics of 'Irak, and two centuries later *Sūfiya* was applied to the whole body of Muslim mystics as our terms Sūfī and Sūfism still are to-day.

Ancient Sūfism had strong ascetic tendencies, while the mystical element might be insignificant. In fact there have always been Sūfīs of an ascetic and devotional type whom we would hesitate to describe as mystics in the proper meaning of the word. In Persian and Turkish poetry the term *Sūfī* sometimes bears the sense of "hypocritical pietist", or "dissolute free-thinker", and may be used as a term of reproach by poets who are themselves Sūfīs of a different sort.

In the early history of this movement there was considerable conflict between the Sūfīs and those who upheld the orthodox, or Qur'anic (Sunni) law of Islām. The Sunnites objected to Sūfism since it developed meditation at the expense of open prayer and sought for the soul a state of personal friendship with Allah, the attainment of which, would henceforth free one from the observances prescribed by law.

While Muhammad was opposed to the spread of the doctrine of mysticism among the faithful, yet there seems to be historic evidence to prove the Sūfī claim that, in spite of Muhammad's precaution against mysticism, his favourite, Ali, was not free from its influence.

The Origin and Early Development of Sūfism.

The beginnings of mysticism in Islām take us back to the great ascetic movement which arose, largely under Christian influence, during the seventh century. This movement, though extreme in certain directions, was mainly orthodox. It was characterized by intense religious exaltation, an overwhelming consciousness of human frailty, boundless fear of Allah and utter submission to His will. There was no organic monastic life, though some ascetics wandered to and fro accompanied by a few friends, or held prayer meetings in which they studied the Qur'an and discussed their spiritual experiences. An anti-ritualistic party which laid stress on the higher aspects of asceticism, having its centre at Basra, regarded it (asceticism) as essentially an inner feeling; whereas the Syrians were more concerned with the external forms. Hasan al-Basri said that it consisted in humility and was not a matter of dress or food.

A close examination of what is involved in the first article of the Muslim creed,—the command to associate nothing with Allāh gradually led to the view that true asceticism is incompatible with any selfish desire, even with the desire to undergo the utmost privations and austerities for the sake of winning paradise and that it must culminate in disinterested love of God. (D. S. Margoliouth, *Early Development of Muhammadanism* p. 167).

Thus, the old asceticism, rooted in fanatical exaggeration of religious observances, gave way to a doctrine which in the end, threatened to make all observance unnecessary. But the consequence did not show up immediately. The Sūfīs of the second century were usually orthodox and law-abiding. They cultivated poverty, self-abasement and resignation. If they loved Allah they feared Him more, and on the whole their mysticism lacked positive qualities as well as distinctive theories. They stood midway between asceticism (*Zuhd*) and theosophy, or gnosis (*ma'rifat*). The word that best describes their attitude is quietism (*ridā*).

During the third century A. H., Sūfīism enters decisively on a new course. The ascetic and quietistic spirit, though still strong, is overpowered by speculative and pantheistic tendencies, which had hitherto remained in the back-ground, but now they assert themselves with increasing boldness. In spite of the vital part which these tendencies played in the future development of Sūfīism, it is a mistake to identify their triumph with the origin of Sūfīism, nor is it less a mistake to describe them as an entirely foreign element which flowed into Sūfīism from outside and rapidly transformed it, so that all at once it became different in kind. The germs of sūfi-pantheism are to be found in the Qur'an. The following quotations are examples: "Everything is perishing (*hālīk*) except the face of God." Qr. 28 ; 88.

"Everyone on earth is passing away (*fānī*) but the glorious and honored face of thy Lord abideth forever." Qr. 55 ; 26.

"Wheresoever ye turn, there is the face of Allāh." Qr. 2 ; 109.

The Sūfīism of the third century, like the Sūfīism of every period of its history, is the product of diverse forces working together,—speculative developments of the Muhammadan monotheistic idea, Christian asceticism and mysticism, gnosticism, Greek and Indian philosophies.

Until recently the problem has been attacked on the wrong lines. Many former investigators held the view that the great movement, which drew its life and strength from all classes and races in the Muslim empire, could be adequately explained by pointing to one definite source ; *e.g.* the Vedanta, or Neo-Platonism, or by formulating theories which are at best only half truths ; *e.g.* that Sūfīism was a reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion forcibly imposed on it.

Instead of searching in vain for a single cause, Dr. R. A. Nicholson thinks that we should endeavour to study the various influences by which the Sūfī doctrine was moulded; to place them in due order and connection and to distinguish so far as possible what was contributed by each. These influences constitute the environment in which the doctrine developed, and among them are to be reckoned all political, social and intellectual conditions which favor the growth of mysticism. For example, the devastating civil wars of the Umayyad period, the sceptical and rationalistic currents that were so dominant in the early 'Abbasid age and the bitter sectarianism and barren dogmatism of the "Ulamā.

Some Features in the Evolution of Sūfīism.

The older Sūfīs sought to bring every word, act and thought of their lives into harmony with the divine will; an ideal which expresses their conception of Allah as a transcendent personality and which they attained by means of asceticism. This theory and practice naturally produced, (1) The doctrine of divine love,—which is the highest positive form of Quietism. (2) Ecstasy, which is frequently a result, either involuntary or intentional, of ascetic exercises.

Although early Sūfīism was more or less orthodox, its relation to Islām was somewhat like that of the mediaeval Spanish mystics to the Roman Catholic Church. A religion of love and ecstasy was bound to come into conflict with Islām sooner or later. Through the teaching of Sūfīism the barrier between Allah and His creatures was gradually broken down. The definition of divine unity became pantheistic; the unique personality of Allāh was transformed into one real Being (*al-Haqq*) revealed in all created things. This Being represents the mystic's true self, which he finds by losing his individual, consciousness in ecstatic self-abandonment.

In attempting to understand this conception of mystic union one must remember that primitive Sūfīism was based on the two following postulates; (a) The fervent practice of worship engenders in the soul graces (*fawā'id*), immaterial and intelligible realities, (b) the "science of hearts" (*'ilm al-kulūb*) will procure the soul an experimental wisdom (*ma'rifat*) which implies the assent of the will to the graces received.

Thus the aim of the Sūfī is to triumph over all his attachments to the flesh until the soul finds the true God to whom it is aspiring, the Real (*al-Haqq*). (Tasawwuf, Ency. of Islam).

This doctrine, however it may be disguised, is the essence of Sūfīism, and the historical circumstances of its origin justify the statement that it was at least partially derived from sources outside of Islām. It may well have been influenced by the so called theology of Aristotle, of which an Arabic version appeared before the end of the third century A. H., but it seems too much to say that the Greek influence gave rise to it. It can be said,

however, that the infiltration of Greek philosophy brought into existence a more correct metaphysical vocabulary implying the immateriality of the spirit and of the soul, the consideration of general ideas, the chance of secondary causes, but the vocabulary became amalgamated with the pseudotheology of Aristotle, with Platonic idealism and the platonian doctrine of emanation, which influenced profoundly the future development of Sūfiism.

Relations Existing between Sūfiism and Islam.

The Law, the Path, and the Truth

The Sūfis make use of the Shi'ite principle of allegorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*), and are able to prove to their own satisfaction that every verse and word of the sacred text hides treasures of meaning which God reveals to the elect,—meanings which flash upon the inward eye in moments of rapt meditation. Thus it is easy to show Qur'anic authority for most mystical doctrine and to maintain that Sūfiism was really the esoteric teaching of the Prophet communicated by him to his son-in-law Ali. On account of this liberty in interpretation there is no uniform body of doctrine constituting what is called "Sūfiism."

The Sūfis regard themselves as a peculiarly favored class, possessing an esoteric knowledge of the Qur'an and the apostolic traditions, and using technical expressions which no ordinary Muslim could understand. This condition fostered a feeling of brotherhood, and eminent mystics gathered round them groups of disciples for private instruction. In course of time these men came to be recognized as teachers, heads of mystical schools, and abbots presiding over convents where Sūfis were trained. The authority of these leaders, or *shaikhs*, as they were called,—was absolute. A self-trained mystic who had not passed through the discipline prescribed by a spiritual director was looked upon with suspicion.

Hujwiri mentions that the pupils who desire to enter the Sūfi school are required to pass through a preliminary period of three years probation. During the first year the pupil is to give himself to the service of the people (the Sūfis). The second year is devoted to the service of Allah, and the third year to watching over his own heart.

When the time has arrived for the vow of initiation the novice would be invested by the *shaikh* with the *Khirqa*, or *muraqq'at* a garment made of pieces of cloth stitched together, which in later times superseded the woollen dress worn by the original Sūfis. This ceremony marked his admission to the Sūfi brotherhood. These disciples had great respect for their *shaikhs*. Dhu'l-Nun went so far as to say that the true disciple should be more obedient to his master than to Allah Himself.

The rule, method and religious practice inculcated by the *shaikh* and followed by the disciple constitute the Path (*Tari'qat*).

This Path has no uniform character, since its details may be determined by each teacher, but corresponds in many ways to the *via purgativa* of mediaeval Christian mysticism. Hunger, solitude and silence are the chief weapons employed in the war against the "flesh" (*nafs*).

The ascetic and ethical discipline is divided into a progressive series of "Stations" (*maqāmāt*), which the learner must traverse ; making himself perfect in every one of them before advancing to the next. These stations vary in number and order, but the first place is usually occupied by "repentance", or "conversion", that is, turning away from sin towards Allah. The fruits of the path are patience, humility, charity, or trust in Allah and single hearted devotion to His will. However, the true goal for which they strive is in preparing the disciple for the ecstatic experience. It may be that some will never reach this goal, as it is an incalculable gift of divine grace and cannot be extorted. In order to bring on this condition the Sūfīs make use of the *dhikr* ("recollection"),—this they consider to be the corner-stone of religion. The simplest form of the *dhikr* is the continual repetition of the name of Allah, audibly or quietly, or some other short litany, accompanied by intense concentrations on the thought of Allah. Concentration may be assisted by other means, such as flagellation and holding the breath until the sense of personality gradually disappears and a state of trance follows.

A general view of Sūfī psychology, as far as it bears on the ecstatic life is found in Al Ghazālī's *Ihyā*. He says that there are a few terms which taken together comprise the sensual, spiritual and intellectual nature of man. They are as follows ; (1) *Nafs* ; the appetitive soul, (2) *Rūh* ; the spirit, (3) *Qalb* ; the heart, (4) *'Aql* ; the intelligence. The *nafs*, being the seat of the passions, is wholly evil ; its mortification by means of asceticism is the Sūfī's Holy War (*jihād*). The *qalb* and the *rūh*, (to which Qashairi adds the *sirr*,—the innermost ground of the *Qalb*, are the proper organs of the mystical life and are not clearly distinguished from one another.

The point at which Sūfīsm becomes at variance with orthodox Islam occurs when, through ecstasy, the Sūfī reaches the plane of Truth (*haqīqat*), where he is one with Allah. The person thus enraptured is a saint (*walī*) and no further testimony is required since the doctrine that a saint who violates the Law is thereby shown to be an imposter applies only when the ecstatic fit has subsided. Then in any case a divinely inspired man must not be judged by appearance. His knowledge of unseen things may justify him in doing what religion and morality condemn. Grounds for such an attitude may be found in the story concerning Moses and Khadir as given in the Qur'an 64-80.

In a study of this subject it should be noted that Sūfīsm, especially in its earlier stages, is not doctrinal, but rather an "experience", a "feeling of God", and does not primarily have

anything to do with the intellect. Within two hundred years of its origin, however, it assumed doctrinal forms. The two chief doctrines of Sūfīism are that of "The One" (*ahad*), and that of "the way to the One" (*tarīqat*).

First of all the Sūfī endeavors to realize that "the One" is the only existence and that there is not only "no god but Allah", but that there is nothing but God. Next he enters upon the "journey to the rose garden of Union." To him the world is a phantasmagoria, and the time will come when it will pass away. God's reason for creating the world is found in the saying, "I was a Hidden Treasure and I wished to be known, so I created Creation that I might be known." The form of creation is not only truth and goodness, but also, and essentially, beauty. Sūfis lay more stress upon the conception of divinity as beauty than do other mystics, or religions.

The final period in the development of Sūfī doctrine begins with the 13th century A. D. Its predominant school has been called by its adversaries "*Wujūdiyyat*", meaning those who profess the doctrine of existentialist monism (*wahdat al-wujūd*).

The chief elements in Sūfī doctrine are :—

1. God only exists. He in all things and all things in Him.
2. All visible and invisible things are an emanation from Him and are not really distinct from Him.
3. Religions are matters of indifference. They, however, serve as leading to realities. Al-Islām has more advantages than others. Sūfīism is the true Philosophy of Islām.
4. In reality there exists no difference between good and evil, for all is reduced to unity, and God is the real author of the acts of mankind.
5. It is God who fixes the will of man. Man, therefore, is not free in all his actions.
6. The soul existed before the body; and is confined within the latter as in a cage. Death, therefore, should be the desire of the Sūfī, for it is death that brings him back to the bosom of divinity.
7. It is by this metempsychosis that the souls which have not fulfilled their destinations here below are purified and becomes worthy of reunion with God.
8. Without the grace of God, which the Sūfī calls *fayazānu 'llah*, or *Fazlu 'llah* no one can attain unto this spiritual union, but this, he asserts, can be obtained by fervently asking for it.
9. The principal occupation of the Sūfī, while he is in the body, is meditation on the *wahdāniyat*, or unity of God, the remembrance of Allah's names (*dhikr*), and the progressive advancement in this *tarīqat*, or journey of life, so as to attain unification with God.

The Sūfī thinks of the human life as being likened unto a journey (*saḡar*), and the seeker after God to a traveller (*sālik*). This traveller must exert himself and strive to attain that perfect knowledge of God (*ma'rīfat*), which is diffused through all things. The sole object of Sūfīism is to lead the wandering soul onward, stage by stage, until it reaches the desired goal,—perfect union with the Divine Being.

The various stages in the journey of the Sūfī are outlined as follows :—

1. Humanity (*nāsūt*), in which state the disciple must observe the law (*sharī'at*).
2. The nature of angels (*malakūt*) for which there is the pathway of purity (*tarīqat*).
3. The possession of power (*jabarūt*), for which there is knowledge (*ma'rīfat*).
4. The extinction (*fanā*), that is, absorption into the deity, for which there is truth (*haqīqat*).

The perfect man according to Sūfī spiritualization is he who has fully comprehended the Law, the Doctrine, and the Truth, or he who is endued with four things in perfection ; (a) good works, (b) good deeds, (c) good principles, (d) the sciences.

In matters of renunciation the Sūfī finds that there are two kinds ; internal and external. The internal has to do with the renunciation of worldly desires and the external with the renunciation of worldly wealth.

The Sūfī also has the following rules which are a help to him in his devotional life :—

1. Attraction (*inḡidhab*).
2. Devotion (*i'bādah*).
3. Elevation (*'ūrūḡ*).

They teach further that man's intellectual and spiritual development is possible because of his superiority over the other creatures. Every animal has a vegetative spirit, a living spirit and an instinctive spirit, but man, in addition to these has another namely, the spirit of humanity. This spirit, Allah Himself, breathed directly into man.

The upward progress and ascent of man is marked in the following manner :—

When man has become assured of the truth of revelation, he has reached the stage of Belief and is then called a Believer (*mu'min*). When he continues obedient to God's will and apporions the night and day for earnest prayer, he has reached the stage of worship and is called a Worshipper (*'Ābid*). When he has expelled the love of the world from his heart and occupies himself with the contemplation of the mighty Whole, he reaches the next stage and becomes a Recluse (*Zāhid*). When, in addition

to all this, he knows Allah and subsequently learns the mysteries of nature, he reaches the stage of Acquaintance, and is called an '*Ārif*,—(One who knows). The next stage is that in which he attains to the love of God and is called a Saint (*Walī*) or "Friend of God". When he is gifted with inspiration and the power of working miracles he becomes a Prophet (*Nabī*). Later when he is entrusted with the delivery of God's message he is called an Apostle (*Rasūl*). When he is appointed to abrogate a previous dispensation and preach a new one, he is called "One who has a mission" (*Ūlū'l-Azm*). When this mission, which he is called to perform, is final he has arrived at a stage called the "Seal" (*Khatm*).

Thus we have the two extremes in the upward progress of man. The first in the journey is the "Believer" and the last is the "Seal".

Another interesting characteristic of the Sūfī is his extensive use of symbols, for we find that symbolism permeates the entire system. A symbol in the mind of the Sūfī is not merely an object or an idea. For him every object has, besides its own immediate significance, also an ideal content. It is this latter content which is the real object of the Sūfī's search. He finds it by means of love (*'ishq*). Objects are, therefore, veils,—not veils that hide, but veils that reveal the One. This attitude is especially noticeable in Sūfī poetry which, as a rule, is written with a double sense. In fact it is said that the initiates can read five other meanings out of such poetry besides the two mentioned above.

The Persian poems (*ghazals*) of Hāfiz, Sādī, Jāmī and others abound in veils, which the Occidental calls voluptuous and bacchanalian, but to the Sūfī they are descriptions of emotions or soul life. As such they suggest to him deeper and more universal states of life.

In a study of the outstanding Muhammadan mystics we find that there are few of historic importance until after the second century of the Muslim era. From that group mention should be made of the Egyptian Dhū'l-Nūn (859 A.D.), who introduced the doctrine of ecstasy and the mystical stages. Sirri Sagvati (867 A.D.) who introduced the doctrine of unification. Junaid (910 A.D.) who reduced Sūfism to writing, and Al-Hallāj, who became famous because he went about crying "I am the Real One". Because of his persisting in this declaration he was put to death by torture in 921 A.D. Sūfis consider that his death came about as a result of the working of the occult law which is supposed to bring death upon anyone who divulges divine secrets.

Al-Ghazālī, who died in 1111 A.D., and Jalāl ud-dīn Rūmī, who died in 1273, A.D. were the two most famous teachers of Sūfism. Yet of the two Al-Ghazālī taught the highest type of Sūfism. He always remained an orthodox Muslim in two essential points; in his reverence for the religious law, and in his view of the nature of God. He shut the door on pantheism by insisting on the

dogma that the divine Being is personal, unique, and distinct from all other beings. He taught that, in so far as the human soul has these attributes, it is capable of knowing God, but it can never be identified with God.

After the death of Jami, which occurred in 1492 A.D., Sūfīism slowly declined. However, in the nineteenth century there was a remarkable revival of Sūfīism in Turkey, and to some extent in Egypt. Thus, from these two countries we have what now may be called Neo-Sūfīism.

The influence of al-Ghazālī has persisted down to the present time and seems to have remained especially strong in al-Yaman. In that corner of the Muslim world generations of Sūfīs lived comparatively undisturbed. The study of al-Ghazālī's book the *Ihyā*, through the help provided by the commentary prepared by Sayyid Murtada, is being revived among serious minded Muslim. For example, at Mecca, the orthodox theological teaching is practically Ghazzālīan, and the controversy throughout all Arabia is whether Ibn Taymiya and al-Ghazzālī can be called "Shaykhs of Islam". (Macdonald's Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory, p. 285).

In a study of the history of Muhammadan Mysticism one finds that in these later years the various Darwish Fraternities should have some consideration. The following statement on that subject is taken from Dr. Macdonald's "Aspects of Islam", Lecture V. In this he says that the basis of religion viewed broadly, is three-fold; Tradition, Reason, and what the Quakers call the "Inner Light". Islam recognises all three of these.

If reason failed to furnish a basis they would fall back partly on tradition, but still more on the third basis; the Inner Light. This last, then, has come to be really the ultimate, the final basis for all thoughtful religion in Islam.

This phase of religious life in Islam is carried on chiefly by the Darwishes, while there are some who would not choose to be classed in that group even though they are mystics. There are many groups of darwishes differing from each other mainly in the degree of their orthodoxy, but they all have a mystical basis, and claim to be guided in their spiritual life by the Inner Light.

There are two kinds of darwishes. First the professional darwishes, known as the monks or friars. These have taken absolute vows to separate themselves from the world and live in monasteries, or to wander about as ascetics begging for a living.

The second class is a much larger group and is similar to the Tertiaries of the Dominican and Franciscan orders. They live as other people, but have taken vows which require them periodically to go through certain religious ceremonies. A very large percentage of the population of Cairo, especially of the masses of the people, belong in one way or another to the Darwish fraternities.

SUFI LITERATURE IN THE MALAY LANGUAGE.

The following material concerning Muhammadan Mysticism is translated from a Dutch Catalogue of Malay Manuscripts issued by Het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen in Batavia, Java. (The numbers appearing at the end of the paragraphs indicate the page of the Catalogue on which the MS. is listed.)

Minhāj al Ābādīn Ilā Jannah Rabb al 'Ālamīn. 376 pages,
Dated 1240 A.H.

A Malay production from the work of al-Ghazzālī, taken from the *Ihyā 'Ulūm Addīn*, the *Kitāb al-Asrār*, the *Kitāb al-Qurbah Ilā Allāh*. The work is divided into seven parts, each part being further divided into chapters. At the end forty *karāmahs* are mentioned; twenty for the present world and twenty for the next. In conclusion a *tanbīh* (admonition) is given to the readers by the translator Dā'ud Ibn 'Abdillāh al-Djāwī Patānī, who completed his work in Mecca in 1240 A.H. Of the last seven pages, one to five are in Arabic.

Sayr as-Sālikīn Ilā 'Ibādah Rabb al-'Ābidīn I. 472 pages. Dated 1203 A.H.

This is a Malay reproduction by 'Abdussamad al-Djāwī al-Palembānī, a pupil of Muhammad as-Sammānī al-Madanī, of the *Ihyā 'Ulūm Addīn* of al-Ghazzālī, Part four. The work was completed on the 20th of Ramadan 1203 A.H. in the city of 'Abbas (Taif).

Sayr as-Sālikīn Ilā 'Ibādah Rabb al-'Ābidīn II. 2769 pages in eight parts.

This is a more complete translation into Malay of *Ihyā 'Ulūm Addīn*, by the same writer as that mentioned above. In the beginning of this work the translator states that Allah gave him the suggestion to translate the *Ihyā* in the year 1193 A.H. It was completed in the year 1203 A.H. This translation includes many commentaries and *fā'idahs*, which make it more valuable to the user. (383).

Dhikr. pages 14-59.

This is a composition concerning the *Dhikr*, being the sixth chapter of a Malay work, *al-Bāb as-Sādis fi Fasl Adh Dhikr wa Adābihi wa Kayfiyatihi.* (415)

Islam, Faith and Mysticism. 37 pages.

This is but a fragment of a larger work, without proper beginning or ending. The remaining part of the MS. is in tatters. (416)

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The Doctrine of Faith and Mysticism. 111 pages.

A. Pages 1—43. This part contains questions and answers on the confession of faith. Beginning on page 34 is found a supplement on the articles of faith; those having to do chiefly with Allah's attributes. This part is not arranged in catechetical form.

B. Pages 44—61. A composition taken from the work of Shaykh Yūsuf Mangkasar concerning the way of Allah.

C. Pages 62—65 contain a short composition from Shaykh Nūruddīn Muhammad Jilāni ibn 'Alī ibn Hasan (ji) ibn Muhammad Hamīd concerning the creation of the universe.

D. Pages 68—69 contain material which has to do with the relation between soul, spirit and body. Sections E and F have separate titles and are thus written separately. (417)

'Umdat al-Muhtājīn Ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufradīn. 84 pages.

This is a very beautifully written copy of 'Abdarra'ūf's work on mysticism, of which there are the following copies in addition to a new copy in the library at the University of Leiden, Holland.

'Umdat al-Muhtājīn No. II, pages 120 to 227.

'Umdat al-Muhtājīn No. III 140 pages.

This work by Shaykh 'Abdarra'ūf, Teungkoe di Koeala, (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, "The Achinese" II volumes and Juynboll's Catalogue of Malay MSS. page 270), of the *fā'idahs* there are seven given here, as in the Leiden MS. The enumeration of the teachers appears on page 111-ff. Pages 124—140 contains statements concerning mystical terms and ideas.

'Umdat al-Muhtājīn No. IV 156 pages.

In this copy pages 1-129 represent a complete specimen of this work. Pages 142-158 contain an Arabic composition on Tajwid with an interlinear Malay translation.

'Umdat al-Muhtājīn No. V pages 20-141.

This copy is similar to the others except for a few notations.

'Umdat al-Muhtājīn No. VI 80 pages. (425)

'Umdat al-Muhtājīn No. VII 158 pages.

This last copy is in the Library of Leiden University, Holland, (Library Catalogue p. 270). The full title as translated from the Malay is, "The Foundation of Those Who Wish to Travel in the Way of Those Who Deny Themselves." On page 142 comes the *silsilah* of the *penghulus* (priests) and the enumeration of the teachers of the writer, about whom Dr. Snouck Hurgronje speaks. The copyist date of writing this book is given at its conclusion as 15 Jamada' l'Akhir 1261 A.H. (20th June 1845). (428)

Sabīl al-Hidāya wa 'Rhashād fi Dhikr Nubdh min Fadā'il al-Qutb al-Haddād.

This work is a collection of *fā'idahs* taken from the work in mysticism by Ahmad ibn Hasan Ibn 'Abdillāh Haddād ibn

Sayyid 'Aluwī Ba'aluwī, from Terīm in Hadramaut. The composition contains 104 pages and is written on the left side of the page only. The translation was made in 1224 A.H. in Penjengat. (428)

Kitāb al-Hikam No. I 60 pages Dated 1280 A.H.

This book on mysticism is by Tājuddīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdīlkarīm ibn 'Atāullāh. The Arabic text is written in red ink and is followed sentence by sentence by the Malay translation. The MS. was written in Tandjoeng Pinang, Riouw. There are three other copies of this work given below. (A translation of this book is contained in this thesis).

Kitāb al-Hikam II. 74 pages.

This is the same text as No. I, but the writing is all with the same color of ink, and the style of handwriting is much larger.

Kitāb al-Hikam No. III 354 pages.

In the beginning of this copy the translator states that he has made this translation into Malay in response to a request from several of his brothers of the "Way" and that, with the help of Allah, he has included a commentary for their use. This commentary is very exhaustive; the text itself filling but a small portion of the book.

Kitāb al-Hikam No. IV 200 pages.

This copy contains many suitable digressions and stories which enrich the work of the Hikam. At the conclusion there is a short composition concerning the *niyyah* for worship and the divisions thereunder. This copy bears the date of 1252 A.H. (430)

Tadhakkur al-Ghabī. 50 pages.

This is a lengthy commentary on the Hikam, the writer being unknown. In the beginning of this work the writer states in Arabic that he has followed each sentence with a Malay translation. He feels himself unequal to so great a task, but depends upon Allah's help to show him the right way. (431)

Kitāb Mukhtasar No. 1. 56 pages. Copy No. II 76 pages. Copy No. III 42 pages.

This is a very concise work on mysticism, chiefly concerning the being of Allah. The original work was by Shaykh al-Wālī Rislān ad Damashki. It was translated into Malay in order to make it easy for all the novices to understand the "way". The translator has also supplied some commentaries along with the text by Zakaryā al-Ansārī and Shaykh 'Abdulghānī ibn Ismā'il and others. On the last page of the second copy the name of the translator is given as Kemas Fakhruddīn in Palembang. The third copy bears the same name as the translator of No. II, and the date 1272 A.H. In the case of both the second and the third copies the writing is on the left side of the page only. (431)

The Library of the University of Leiden, Holland, contains a fourth copy of the *Mukhtasar* (86 pages) by the same author. This work contains a supplement from the commentary of the Fath-ar-Rahmān of Shaykh Zaharyā ul-Ansārī, and on the Hamzah Ilkhan of Shaykh 'Abd al-Gānī Ibn Ismā'il. The contents have to do with mysticism. (Listed on page 266 of the Library catalogue).

Diya' 'l-Warā Ilā Sulūk Tariqāt al-Ma'būd al-'Ulā No. I pages 136-199.

This work on mysticism, is divided into four chapters, *i.e.* Islam, Iman, Ma'rifah and Tauhīd. Pages 200-201 contain notes on mysticism. There are two copies of this book in the Batavia Museum and another in the Leiden University Library. (433)

Jumlat al-Ma'rifah al-Tariqīyyah pages 4-14.

This is a treatise concerning the mystical knowledge followed by an expansion of the expression "He who knows himself knows his Lord." (433)

Shifā 'l-Qulūb pages 7-10.

This is a short work on mysticism written by Shaykh Nuruddīn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Hasanjī Ibn Muhammad Hamīd. The object of the writer was to oppose the pantheistic mystical conception in the confession of faith. This is, in reference to the first four words of the confession. (434) The University of Leiden has another copy of this work.

Al-Kitāb al-Majmū. 28 pages.

In the beginning of this work Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has written as follows,—“A defective copy of a short estimate of the doctrine of faith and the chief religious duties with a mystico-ethical coloring.”

The chief importance of this work is due to the fact that the divisions of the material and some technical expressions appear in numberless *primbons* dealing with the popular pantheistic mysticism where they are used in an entirely different sense (misused according to the author of this book). From this one may conclude that the book has been very popular as a study book for beginners in the time when people wrote heretical dissertations. (434)

Majmū' al-Masā'il. No. I pages 119-130. No. II 22 pages.

This work is a short treatise on mysticism by 'Abdurra'ūf. Pages 1-12 in the second copy are the same as the contents in No. I. (436)

Al-Mawā'iz al-Badī'ah. No. I 82 pages.

On pages 5 to 75 of this book one finds religious and moral exhortations divided into fifty lessons of Malay instruction in

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mystical moral teaching. On the remaining pages there is a prayer by Si Raja Gayo which could be used for all purposes on condition that one unites himself in thought with the teacher Abdulrajak. In addition to this other prayers and prescriptions are given. The author of the book was 'Abdurra'ūf and therefore was written during the 17th century A.D. There is a second copy of the same work in the Batavia Museum containing eighty pages and bearing the copyist's date of 1250 A.H. In addition to this there is another copy in the Leiden University Library. (436)

Munyat al-Musalli. 119 pages.

This is a composition on the mystical value and meaning of the *salāt*, illustrated by the use of traditions and stories. After page 107 there is an hiatus. On page 117 a period for each day is connected with the journey of the prophets 'Isā, Muhammad, Ibrāhīm, Dā'ūd, Shīth 'Adam and Moses. On page 118 there is a *fal* (omen) for each day arranged in tables. On page 119 a prayer at the *khatam* (conclusion). This writing bears the date 1242 A.H. Mecca. (437)

An-Nūr al-Hādī Ila Tarīk Ar-Rashādīn. 138 pages.

This is a work on mysticism the greater part of which contains an interlinear translation in Buginese or Makassar, in Arabic character. The book deals with the Attributes, the *Salāt*, etc. (438).

Shams al-Ma'rifah. 24 pages.

This is a work on mysticism (*risālah*) with the above title taken from the *as-Sint al-Majīd* of Ahmad al-Qushāshī. The latter part of the MS. is only broken fragments. (438)

Bismi'llāhi'rrāhmāni'rrahīm. No. I.

This is the heading of a short composition concerning the mystical significance of the words and letters in the above mentioned formula.

A second work under the same heading consists of twenty six pages. It explains the mystical significance and the mystical explanation of the letters in this formula; the mystical similarity between the pen and ink, mystical speculation, prayers, and also concerning the negation and affirmation in the *shahādah*. (439)

The Mysticism of Marriage. 188 pages.

This composition has to do with the marriage of Abu Hurayrah and the secret mystical laws of marriage and love, supported by examples from the life of Muhammad; the *ma'rif al-khiyāl* and the 'Ilmu Ghā'ib, the elements in the human body and also the mystical content of erotic affairs. (439)

Orthodox Mysticism. 103 pages.

This is a work having no definite beginning or ending, concerning orthodox *tasawwuf* with relation to the obligations and

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doctrine of faith. In chapter four the writer deals with the sciences, the investigation of which is absolutely obligatory. The last chapter deals with the *istinjā*. (439)

Works on the Subject of Mysticism listed by catalogue numbers.

The museum in Batavia contains fifteen other works on the general subject of mysticism for which no distinctive titles are given, and are therefore listed under their respective catalogue numbers only. (440-f)

The following works on the subject of Muhammadan Mysticism are listed in the Leiden University Library Catalogue of Malay Manuscripts.

Tadhkir ul-Yaqīn. 77 pages.

This MS. also deals with the subject of mysticism. The writing is not very clear. The name of the author, place and date of writing are not given. (277)

Kitāb Khusūs al-Mabīn. 37 pages.

This is a composition on the knowledge of mystical ideas applied to the teaching of duty and faith, made clear in the performance of daily living. It speaks of the power of Allah's names to ward off evil or danger, etc. (123)

Kitāb Qulūb al-'Arifīn. 61 pages.

The character of the material in this book is varied; dealing with the Light of Muhammad, names of Allah, revelation, the prophets, etc. The knowledge and secrets of the prophets, parables on the Sulūk, the body, soul, spirit, and the heart as the center; chapters on *tanazzuh*, *tawajjuh*, *murāqabah*, the *salat*, *tafakkur*, bodily movements, ceremonial impurity, etc. (127)

Mir'at al-Mu'min. 96 pages.

This is an old MS. dealing with mysticism. It is one of the few remaining writings of Shamsuddin of Pasai. The text is preceded by a short composition on mysticism. (129)

Asrār al-'Ārifīn. pages 8-40.

Pages 1 to 4 contain a composition on the seven *martabats*.

Page 5 an Achinese fragment on the doctrine of faith.

Pages 6 to 8 contain statements on the origin of sexual love and such like. The author was Hamzah Fansoerī.

This is a work on pantheistic mysticism and begins with a doxology in Arabic. Chapter I deals with the *ma'rifat* Allah Ta'ālā, His attributes and His names. In the verses which follow the name of the author is repeatedly mentioned. (135)

Shattariah Mysticism. 18 pages.

This short work contains a *silsilah* beginning with Enchik Ibrāhīm. Then it mentions the four kinds of pupils, recognized

mystical mottos, the four *killahs*, *majazi*, *'umūmiyyah hakikī* and *sirri*. The writer was Shaykh 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdulqahhār al-Rifā'i Banten. (137)

Asrar al-Sulūk Ilā Malik al-Mulūk. 32 pages.

This is a hand book of Shattariah mysticism written by one of the followers of Shaykh 'Abdurra'af. At the conclusion of the work there is a *silsilah* running from Dā'ud Ibn Isma'il to Muhammad which is the *silsilah* used by the Qadiriyyah Order. Following a declaration as to their *tariqah* there is a composition about the so called *jasmani* heart, and other hearts, and of the signs of approaching death. Pages 33-34 are doubtless from 'Abdurra'af. (137)

Daqāik al-Hurūf. No. I pages 51-68, No. II pages 62-81.

The first writing contains an explanation of mystical terms and similes by 'Abdurra'uf. The latter part deals with the expression "The servant is near to Allah." The second copy is the same as No. I except that it has a slightly different ending. (140)

Shattariyyah. 20 pages.

This is an unfinished study book for the Shattariyyah mystics. At first is the *silsilah*, beginning with the Prophet down to 'Abdurra'uf Ibn Ali of the family of Shaykh Hamzah Fansūri from Singkil. (140)

Risiālat fī Bayan Shurūt al-Shaykh wa'l-Murīd. Pages 24-41.

This is a composition dealing with the relation between the teacher and the pupil in teaching mysticism; doubtless from 'Abdurra'af. The end comes abruptly. (142)

Usul Tahqīq. pages 36-45.

This work is a collection of questions and answers concerning the doctrine of faith in its mystical conceptions and applications. The name of the writer is not given. (144)

Usul al-Mutahaqqie (al-Haq;qah) pages 45-47.

This is a treatise similar to that mentioned above, but leans much more to pantheistic mysticism in its expressions and illustrations. Pages 47 to 52 contain an Arabic text of the Arba'in Hadīth with an interlinear Malay translation. (144)

Pantheistic Mysticism. 10 pages.

This is an anonymous treatise containing the usual pantheistic similes and comparisons, allegorical explanations of the Qur'an verse. (145)

Sullam al-Mustafidīn. 168 pages.

This is a complete study book on the doctrine of faith according to the mystical training, being in the form of a commentary

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on Ahmad al-Qushāshī's short versified treatise on which his kalifa, Mullā Ibrāhīm, has written two commentaries. The idea of the whole work is taken from the *Fatūhāt al-Makkiyah*. This anonymous treatise is followed by a dogmatic Arabic poem, with interlinear Malay translation. The general title given at the end is, "Al-Faw'id." (149)

Kitāb Tasawwuf. 142 pages.

This is a fragment of a treatise on the mysticism of the Shattariah *tariqah*. The MS. is badly damaged. It begins with a sentence on the doctrine of faith and closes with a *silsilah* on the teacher of Ahmad al-Qushāshī. (150)

Lubāb al-Kifāyah. 120 pages.

This is a complete study book on the teaching of duty with its mystical relationships. (150)

Kitāb al-Kiyamat. 88 pages.

This book begins with a statement, the origin of which is pantheistic mysticism. Furthermore, it deals with the mystical *nūr*, then concerning the world of spirits and the creation of various beings, all of which is according to Sūfī ideas, and which finally culminates in the creation of Muhammad, the members of whose body are described in their mystical relations. Then reference is made to Mount Kāf and to what came into existence from the four elements; to the horned beast which bears up the earth and to the fish under the earth, etc., etc. (151)

Sharh Fath al-Rahmān. 98 pages, dated 1287 A.H.

This is a Batavia copy of a work written by Ki Mas Fakh-rudin of Palembang from the Malay rendering of a treatise on mysticism by Walī Raslān ad-Dimishkī. In this work some things are borrowed from Zakariyā al-Ansarī's *Fath al-Rahmān*. (283) (See Batavia catalogue, 432).

Mas'alah fī Bayān al-Shahādah. 31 pages.

This is a fragment of a very old voweled MS., giving a detailed catechism in short questions and answers concerning the main points of faith, the confession of faith, the five *ahkām* in the mystical sense, and concerning the mystical significance of the *fich* and *usūl* terms, also concerning the *rūh*, the *'ālams*, etc. (286)

Asrar al-Salāt fī Tabyīn Mukāranat al'-niyyah. 48 pages, dated 1274 A.H.

This MS. contains various mystical fragments, *i.e.* concerning the intention of the *dhikr*, the *sifāt* Allah, the letters of the *fātiha*, and concerning the relation of the *salāt* with the *niyyah*. These are borrowed from the above mentioned work, (also called *Kitāb Asrār al-Salāt*). In that work the Arabic text is followed by an interlinear Malay translation. There are also included some

da'irahs and *fa'idahs* from 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif of Abū'l-Najīb Sahrūddīn. (286)

Al-Tuhfah al-Mursalah. 25 pages.

This is a treatise by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj Khalwatī Ibn al-Hirqānī al-Manjalāwī concerning the seven degrees of being, the mystical significance of angels, the heart, the soul, the *niyyah* in general and the confession of faith as a collection of unusual letters. The sub-title is "Kitāb al-Arwāh." (287)

Kitāb Tariqat. 60 pages.

This is a fragmentary MS. on mysticism coming from Samarang, Java, and is taken from the *Asrār al-Insān*. It also contains a composition entitled, "Wahdat al-Wujūd" by 'Abdulkarīm Ibn Muhammad; following that a part dealing with the body, death and the soul, and the mystical explanation of *tauhid* terms. The last part deals with the *Nūr* Muhammad. (288)

Tracts on Mysticism. 17 pages.

In this collection of tracts one finds mystical conceptions of the parts of prayer, *takbīr*, etc. *Dhikr* by Shaykh Shamsuddīn, the character of the human body, etc., of the *rūh*, the *martabats* in connection with the evolution of the creation, the mystical knowledge of self, the relation of the *salāt* with other things; some of the prayers most frequently used, as *takhtīm*, *kubur*, *malām selikur*. It is claimed that a man brought this collection from Rangkas Bitoeng to Java. (289)

Mysticism. 142 pages.

This is a collection of various tracts concerning the *niyyah*, the secret doctrine of faith in regard to the *niyyah* and their inward relation to the *salāt*, passages from the *Kitāb Ma'lūmāt Allah* concerning the *A'jān thābitah*, the *haqiqat insan*, the soul, the *rūh*, the shadow, the mirror, the sun, the light, the world, and universe in a mystical sense. The last chapter is called "Ghaib al-Ghuyūb." There is also the *Kitāb Bahr Nūr* by Shaykh Shamsuddīn. The first chapter of this work deals with the "Ilmu Ma'rifat Allah" with parts from the *Kitāb al-Rūh* by Shaykh Hamzah. There are other parts concerning the mystical significance of the *salāt* taken from Shaykh Jūsuf Kadi al-Nunī, "Sahib Tariqah Nakshbandi", with selections from Shaykh 'Aidārūs and others. (290)

Works on the Subject of Mysticism which have no specific titles.

The Leiden University Catalogue contains a list of nine other Malay compositions on the general subject of mysticism, but which have no definite titles and are therefore listed under their respective catalogue numbers only.

In this list mentioned above there is one MS.—carrying the catalogue number of 754, which deserves special notice. This

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composition might be called a Tamil MS. since the greater part of it is written in the Tamil language, but Arabic letters are used in place of Tamil. It contains a complete text of 'Izām al-Fawaid fī Nizām al-'Akāid of Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Labai Kumaran on the doctrine of faith translated into Tamil. Following this is a Malay portion on the mystical body and on the conflict of death. After two long Tamil sections on prayer and divinations there follows a Malay article on the Good Way, with Malay *dairahs*, including fragments on the *salāt*, the soul, the spirit, etc. Then follows twenty pages in Malay dealing with Islam and *Imān* arranged in the form of questions and answers, followed by another catechism in Tamil. Then a Malay poem, and, in Tamil, a composition on the months and their advantages. In a section on the names of the prophets we find on one page both Malay and Tamil and, on the following page, Tamil and Persian! There are a few pages on the question of marriage written in Malay followed by a piece in Tamil on the four questions of al-Shafi'i. The last page has a date in Tamil (5 Shy'ban 1192), a Tamil proper name, and, in another hand writing, a verse in Malay by a Batavian.

THE GIST OF THE HIKAM.

Your decrease of hope when you do wrong shows that you rely upon your good works, therefore, your self-will must be replaced by Allah's will and your self-planning must give way to Allah's plans for you.

The way of the Sūfī consists of several stations, or stages (*maqām*) through which you must pass on your way to union with Allah. This is a lesson which you (the novice) must learn at the beginning of your journey,—you must be satisfied with the station in which Allah has placed you ; for you to desire a higher station is to give way to the hidden lusts, and to desire a lower station would mean the lowering of your aspirations. Besides all this, what Allah has ordered to be cannot be changed to suit the desire of the servant. Since Allah rules over His servants by His foresight, the servant need take no thought about his sustenance, or other things he may desire. When you put forth an earnest effort for such things, which have already been guaranteed to you, it is an indication of your lack of certainty and the darkening of your spiritual insight. (-7)

If you are diligent in your worship then do not lose heart when you do not get what you choose at a time that suits you.

If you are diligent in the performance of your prayers you should not be disturbed in case Allah's bounty is delayed, since it must be remembered that Allah has promised to answer those prayers of yours which He chooses, and at a time when He chooses. If you should doubt the fulfilment of Allah's promise it may decrease your spiritual insight and quench your spiritual light. (8-12)

If Allah has opened to you the way of understanding then be not disturbed over the scarcity of your good works ; for His making Himself known to you is more important than any amount of good works. The variety of good works is made to agree with the variety of experiences.

If Allah should open to the servant a way of understanding His names and attributes, he should not be disturbed, even though his good works are few. Allah's purpose in opening the way is to make Himself known to you. Allah's making Himself known to you is far greater than any amount of good works you may present to Him. There are various forms of good works to agree with the variety of mystical experiences of the states. These good works possess outward forms and their forms are distinguished by the spirit of inward sincerity. (13-17)

You must turn away from the world and yourself in order to enter the arena of reflection.

In order that the heart may enter the arena of reflection it is necessary that the servant should separate himself from the world

and turn from himself (bury himself in the earth of obscurity).
(18-19)

You can not hope to enter the presence of Allah nor to understand divine mysteries until you are able to see Allah in relation to the phenomenal world.

As long as the forms of the phenomenal world and evil desires engage your heart it can not be enlightened. If you desire to enter the presence of Allah you must cleanse yourself from the impurities of your neglect and disobedience.

The phenomenal world is illuminated by Divine Reality only, and whoever looks upon the phenomenal world without being able to see Allah in relation to it will lack the illumination of knowledge (*gnosis*) which has been veiled by the clouds of effects (*āthār*) which are imaginary and non-existent. (20-26)

Allah veils you from Himself by that which has no existence, yet you can not imagine that anything would conceal Him.

In this Allah's power is evident, since He veils you from Himself by means of that which has no existence with Him in reality, while on the other hand, nothing can be thought of as being able to conceal Him, since existence can not be manifested in non-existence. (27-38)

You should not desire anything before Allah has revealed it to you, nor postpone good works until a convenient season, nor seek to change the state in which you are employed.

It is an evidence of ignorance on the part of a person that he should desire to perform a work at a time other than that which Allah has revealed to him. The postponing of good works until a convenient time is also an evidence of yielding to the "self". You should not seek to be removed from a certain state (occupation in life) so as to be employed in another, if Allah desires to do so He will employ you in another state without removing you. (39-41)

You must not allow the attraction (temptation) of created things to stop you on your way.

The aspiration of the traveler is not satisfied with the illumination (of *gnosis*) without the hidden voices saying to him, "What you seek is before you." When the outward form of created things appears beautiful they warn you that they are only a temptation. (42-43)

You should not seek for anything, whether from Allah, or from His creatures, but be content.

When you pray to Allah for the necessities of life it is as though you blamed Him, while your seeking for Allah is an evidence that you are far from Him, and to seek for "other" than Him shows that you have little sense of shame toward Allah, and your

seeking for something from other than Him is due to your being at a distance from Allah. (44-47)

Remember that with every breath you are going toward Allah.

The fact of your dependence upon Allah is also evidenced by your breathing, for not a breath issues forth except as Allah wills it. (48)

You should not seek release from trouble for it brings you near to Allah in search of help.

The servant should not seek freedom from "others" (material things), for they make necessary his contemplation of Allah, (moral—do not seek anything! Be content!) (49)

You should understand that trouble is necessary for you so long as you are in the world, for the world does not reveal anything but that which harmonizes with it.

So long as you remain in the world do not think it strange that you should have trouble, for this world does not make evident anything but that which is in keeping with its nature and necessary to qualify it. (50)

To seek for things through Allah is not difficult, but to seek for them by yourself is difficult.

It is not difficult to seek for things by Allah, and there is nothing easy in anything you seek for by yourself. (51)

Returning to Allah in the beginning of an undertaking insures final success: for if the beginning is illuminated the ending will be illuminated by attaining to Allah.

One of the signs of achieving final success is the returning to Allah in the beginning, for whosoever's beginning is illuminated by reliance upon Allah, his ending will be illuminated by the attainment of Allah. That which is made certain is the mystery of certainty and *gnosis* will be manifested in the view of all outward things. (52-54)

Those who draw a conclusion from Allah (the adepts) recognize Him who is real, while those who draw a conclusion about Allah (the journeyers) show that they have failed to reach Him and seek to be guided to Him.

A distinction must be noted between those who draw a conclusion from Allah and those who draw a conclusion about Allah. The first group (adepts) recognise Him who is real to His people, while the second group (journeyers), by drawing an inference about Allah, show that they have failed to reach Him and seek to be guided to Him. (55-57)

The duty of those who have union with Allah and those on the way to Him is to use the ability they possess, the latter by (*tawajjuh*) seeking His face, and the former by communion (*muwājahat*).

Those who possess ability are those who have union with Allah. They should make use of what Allah has given them. These are the people who are on their way to Him and are guided by the illumination of seeking His face, while those who have attained to Him have the illumination of communion with Him. The former are the slaves of the lights, whereas the lights belong to the latter for they (who have attained) belong to Allah. (58-61)

The veil of self prevents one from beholding Reality, therefore you should get away from the human attributes, so as to come near to Him.

It is better for you to look at the faults in your character, actions and manners, which are hidden within him than to look for the unseen things which are hidden from you, for Reality is veiled only in so far as you are veiled from beholding Him. Nothing can veil Reality, since anything that would cover Him would restrict Him, and to restrict anything is to overpower it, but He is the one who overpowers all His creatures. Therefore, you should extricate yourself from the attributes of your humanity so that you may respond to the call of the Real and come near His presence. (62-65)

You should beware of associating with those who are satisfied with the lower self.

Satisfaction with the lower self (*nafs*) is the source of all disobedience, heedlessness and lust, and the denial of the self is the source of obedience and watchfulness in service. Thus, association with an ignorant man who is not satisfied with his lower self is better than association with a learned man who is satisfied with his lower self. (66-68)

The value of insight is that it bears witness to your own self-existence and to Allah's existence.

By the ray of insight you see Allah's nearness to you, and the eye of insight causes you to see your own self-existence because of Allah's existence. The reality of insight causes you to see Allah's existence, but not your own existence, nor your own non-existence. (69-72)

Your aspirations should not go beyond Allah, so do not present to anyone other than Him any of your needs.

Your aspiration must be confined to Allah, for anything you may desire can be found in Him; for no one can take away from you that which He has brought. Since a person can not remove a need from himself, how could he remove a need from another? (73-76)

Remember Allah's goodness (in His attributes), and His goodness to you. Do not run away from Him to seek satisfaction in the world.

If Allah's attributes do not make you think well of Him, then the benefits received from Allah should make you think well of Him; for He has accustomed you to nothing but His favors

and the bounties of His grace. Because some are blind in their hearts they try to run away from Him from whom there is no escape, and seek for satisfaction in the things of the world, or phenomenal things. (77-80)

Your pilgrim journey (*rahl*) should be not from one thing to another in the phenomenal world, but you should go on to Allah who made phenomenal things.

A person should not go from one thing to another in the phenomenal world, but from the phenomenal things you should go on to Allah who made them. To do otherwise is to be like the ass when grinding wheat,—always travelling but getting nowhere. You must consider the saying of the prophet that whoever proposes to go away to Allah and His prophet he really does go to them, or if he proposes to go to the things of the world he does go to them. (81-85)

To this end choose your companions and do not make friends with a person whose state and whose conversation do not point you to Allah.

You should not make friends with a person whose state does not awaken in you desires for reality and whose conversation does not point you to Allah. Much good works will spring from the heart of him who withdraws from the world, but little from the heart of him who loves the world, the goodness of conduct results from the excellency of the states, and the excellency of the states is due to their being established in the stations (religious experiences) which come down from Allah. (86-89)

Do not fail to use the *dhikr* which will lead you on from neglect to a *dhikr* accompanied by vigilance, and from there to one accompanied by Allah's presence, and finally, to a *dhikr* accompanied by the absence of all things other than Him.

The *dhikr* should be continued although you may not be conscious of Allah's presence in it: for to neglect the *dhikr* is worse than one's neglect while mentioning Him. It is not difficult for Allah to raise you up from the *dhikr* which is accompanied by neglect to a *dhikr* accompanied by vigilance, or from a *dhikr* accompanied by vigilance to one accompanied by Allah's presence; and finally, to a *dhikr* accompanied by the absence of all things other than Him who is mentioned in the *dhikr*. (90-94)

Lack of repentance indicates the deadness of the heart, therefore do not think of your sins as being so great as to hinder you from having good thoughts about Allah.

When you have no sense of sorrow due to your lack of obedience, and fail to repent of the evil you have committed, it is an indication of the deadness of your heart. Yet you should not think of your sins as being so great as to hinder you from having good thoughts about Allah, for whoever knows his Lord will think of his sins as small in comparison with His beneficence. In view of Allah's justice, sin can not be little: but in view of His

grace, it is not great. In seeking to improve your spiritual condition (heart) the best service is that which you soon forget. (95-99)

Allah gave you the mystical experience (*wārid*) in order to make you a *wārid* (a comer to Him), also to make you secure from the hand of "others", and to prevent you from becoming a slave to the "affects", and to bring you out of the prison of your existence into the wideness of your contemplation of Allah.

Allah brought the mystical experience to you in order to make you a "comer" to your Lord, as well as to make you secure from the hand of "others" and to prevent you from becoming a slave to the "affects", and also to bring you out of the prison of your existence into the wideness of your contemplation of Allah. (100-102)

The lights which reveal Reality are the help and strength of hearts and they cut off from you the influence of darkness and "others".

The lights are the steeds of the hearts and inner consciousness as well as the army (strength) of the heart, even as darkness is the army of the lower self. When Allah desires to help His servant He assists him with the armies of lights, thereby cutting off from him the influence of darkness and "others". The purpose of light is to reveal the reality of all things, and insight is for deciding between good and evil, while the heart is for advancing and retreating as insight reveals the way to it. (103-106)

Your joy in obedience is not due to any merit on your part, but it is due to the fact that obedience comes from Allah to you.

In order to avoid pride and conceit on your part you should not rejoice in obedience as though you were the cause of it, but you should rejoice because obedience comes from Allah to you. (107-109)

Those who journey towards Allah and those who have attained do not see their good works or states.

Neither those who journey toward Him, nor those who have attained, see their good works or their states, since those who journey to Him have not realized the truth of being with Allah in their works and states, and because Allah has made invisible to those who attain to Him all their works and states. They see only the proximity of Allah's essence. (110-112)

Humiliation comes from the slavery of one's selfish desires, which results from the *wahm*.

The extent of humiliation does not increase except as the seeds of self-interest grow. For this reason there is nothing that leads you astray like vain imaginations (*wahm*). One is not

enslaved by that which he has little hope of obtaining, but he may become a slave of that which he desires to obtain. (113-115)

You will be brought to Allah either by His goodness, or by trials, while failure to recognize Allah's bounty may cause their cessation and your downfall.

If the quality of Allah's goodness does not bring a person to Him, then he will be forced to go to Allah by the chains of trial (misfortune and personal loss). A lack of gratitude for Allah's bounties will cause their cessation, but the thankful man binds these bounties to him. You should be fearful lest Allah's continual goodness to you and your evil-doing toward Allah might cause your downfall. (Qur'an 68 ; 44) (116-118)

The ignorant novice fancies that Allah's delay in punishment means that he is not evil, but it may be that Allah has left him to his own folly.

It is due to the ignorance of the novice that he should think that he has not been ill mannered since Allah has not at once punished him on account of his evil conduct. Yet help is sometimes cut off from him even though the cutting off of help be only for the prevention of the increase of evil. At times the servant is placed in a station of remoteness even though the remoteness consists only in Allah's leaving the servant alone to do whatsoever he desires. (119-120)

Do not discredit the service of one who is an adept, for that service is by Allah's favor, and divine influence usually comes as a surprise.

If you should see a servant whom Allah has placed in the performance of recitations (*wird*), and whom Allah should continue in these good works, you should not despise that which his Lord has granted unto him just because the signs of the adept do not appear in him. Without a divine influence there could be no recitation (*wird*). These divine influences usually come as a surprise to the servant lest he should claim them as being due to his preparation for them. The servants of Allah are in two classes; one group has been instructed to perform service for Allah, and the second group has been appointed by Allah to love Him and to know Him. (121-123)

Only the ignorant imagine they can know and explain everything.

If you should see a person answering every question asked of him, and explaining everything he sees, and mentioning everything he knows, this may be taken as a proof of his ignorance of the reality of his Lord and His wisdom towards His creatures. (124)

Since this world does not contain what Allah wishes to give His servants, He will reward them in the hereafter. If they do find a reward in this world that indicates their standing before Allah.

Allah's chief reason for making the hereafter a place for rewarding His servants is because this world does not contain what He desires to give them, and because He has exalted their dignity too much to be rewarded in a world which is not eternal. Whoever finds the reward of his good works in this world may understand that he will receive acceptance by the favor of Allah, and whoever desires to know his standing before Allah should observe where He has placed him. (125-127)

Obedience is by Allah's favor, so hasten to obey.

Allah has perfected in you all His favors when He grants you obedience and independence of obedience. The best which you seek from Allah is what He seeks from you. You are deceiving yourself if you say that you are sorry on account of the lack of obedience, unless at the same time you hasten to be obedient. (128-130)

The real adept passes away in contemplation of Allah and his hope is coupled with good works, and he seeks sincerity in worship and obedience.

The real adept is he who makes no reference to names, attributes, or ideals of the real because of his passing away into Allah's existence and because of his being enveloped in the contemplation of Him. The adept desires from Allah sincerity in works and in obedience, and the fulfilment of the rights of His Lordship (deity). (131-133)

Allah takes the adept out of both sorrow and joy in attaining unto union with Him. The adepts are more afraid of pleasure than of sorrow, because pleasure appeals to the lower self.

You are caused fear (contraction) so that Allah may continue you in joy (expansion), and you are caused joy so that you shall not be left with sorrow, and Allah takes you out of both sorrow and joy by making it possible for you to attain unto union with Him (pass away into Him). Adepts are more fearful of joy than of sorrow; for in times of joy only few of the rules of discipline are observed, and also, the lower self shares in the pleasure, but as for sorrow, the lower self has no share in it. At times Allah's giving of worldly pleasure is in reality a withholding, and at times His withholding is in reality a bestowing. When Allah opens the gates of knowledge to you such a "withholding" is in reality a "giving". (134-137)

The lower self takes notice of the exterior of things which are a delusion, while the heart takes notice of the interior which has significance. The real denying of the lower self is turning from the world until the hereafter seems nearer than you are.

In their outward appearance phenomenal things are a delusion, having no reality in their exterior, but inwardly they have significance, (for they provide a place for the viewing of the reality

of the realities of independence and permanency for the Lord, a dwelling place and a passing away for the servant). The lower self takes notice of the exterior and the heart takes notice of the interior of their significance. If you desire abiding honor you should not seek honor with the things which pass away. The real turning back (denying of the self) is when you turn away from the world until you see the hereafter nearer to you than your own self. (138-140)

Allah's rewards are not given immediately, yet through the blessing of familiarity good works are rewarded. It is unworthy of Allah to worship Him simply in the hope of gaining some reward or advantage.

A gift from a person may have the effect of a refusal (or, something which conceals), and a refusal from Allah results in a blessing. The Lord is too great to reward His servant immediately and thus He delays His response. It is sufficient for the servant that Allah considers him to be worthy of obedience. That which Allah reveals to their hearts in obedience to Him and that which He brings to them through the blessing of familiarity is sufficient reward for good works. Whoever worships Allah because of a hoped-for blessing, or in order to avoid punishment, does not perform that which is due His attributes. (141-145)

Allah reveals His benevolence by His bounty and His goodness, and His severity by His withholding.

By His bounty Allah reveals His benevolence, and by withholding Allah reveals His goodness and His severity. In this manner He makes Himself known to you. Allah's withholding disturbs the servant only because he does not understand Allah. (146-148)

Allah may make you obedient and yet not accept you.

Disobedience which produces humiliation is better than obedience which causes pride and honor.

At times obedience is opened to you, but the way of acceptance is not open to you; at times Allah may decree sin upon you and the sin may help you to attain to Allah. Disobedience which causes humiliation and a sense of need is much better than that kind of obedience which leads to honor and pride, and thus leads the servant away from divine service into pride. (149-150)

All creatures receive two divine favors: (1) the favor of creation, (2) the favor of help. These favors make you constantly dependent upon Allah.

There are two divine favors which all created things have received: The first is the favor of being brought into existence (creation), and the second is the favor of help. The first favor was necessary because no creature possessed existence originally, and without the second favor the creature's existence could not be maintained. Thus your need of Allah is inherent (essential) in you and can not be removed by the coming of these two favors

(creation and help), which in fact increases the need. The best condition in which you find yourself is that condition (present state) in which you realize your need and are, therefore, compelled to be humble. (151-155)

When Allah separates you from created things He wishes to open the way of familiarity with Himself, that you may ask His help to satisfy your continual needs.

You should know that, when Allah makes you withdraw from created things, He desires to open to you the way of familiarity with Himself, and when you are given liberty to ask for things you should understand that Allah desires to satisfy your needs; for the needs of the adept are continuous and his permanent place (continuous) is with none other than Allah. (156-158)

The lights of Allah's attributes illuminate the inmost heart, therefore these lights do not disappear.

All external things are illuminated by the lights of Allah's impressions (*āthār*), and all inmost hearts by the lights of His attributes. For this reason the lights of external things disappear and the lights of hearts and mysteries,—these do not disappear. This condition is illustrated by the saying, "The sun of the day sets at night, but the sun of hearts does not set (disappear)". (159-160)

Allah's kindness has not ceased though He decrees trials for you.

The knowledge that Allah is the One who sends trials upon you should tend to ease the weight of your troubles; for while Allah has sent the things which you do not like, yet He is also the One who caused you to choose well the things you love. If anyone should imagine that the Lord's kindness has ceased from His decreeing, then such an idea is due to that person's short-sightedness. There is no fear that the ways of Allah may be uncertain for the servant,—it is only feared that evil desires may overpower him. (161-164)

If the answer to your prayers is delayed, you should not seek from Allah the cause of the delay, but rather seek the cause that delays your own good behaviour.

Allah has concealed the secret of certainty (special favor) due to the manifestation of human qualities, and has manifested the greatness of His Lordship in the revelation of divine service. Thus you should not seek from your Lord the cause of the delay, but you should rather seek for the cause of the delay in the response to your request in the delay of your own good behaviour. When Allah has made you to follow His commands outwardly, and to yield yourself to the attribute of His compulsion, then Allah has made great His favor upon you. Yet not everyone who is certain of gaining a state or a station has perfected his purity from things other than such stations and states. (165-168)

Only those who are ignorant make light of recitation (*wird*), which ceases when this present world passes away and can not be replaced in the next world. Thus Allah requires recitation of you and you seek the mystical experience (*wārid*) from Allah.

Only those who are ignorant make light of recitation (*wird*). As for the mystical experience (*wārid*) its advantages comes in the next world, because there are no good works or recitations in the next world. The recitation ceases when this present world passes away. Therefore, that which is of great importance is that, the existence of which, cannot be replaced in the next world. Thus Allah requires the recitation from you, and the mystical experience is what you seek from Allah. (169-171)

The coming of help from Allah depends upon your performance of good works (*wird*). If you behold Allah in everything you will not be separated from everything, for He has caused you to see what is manifested from Him (in created things).

The coming of help from Allah depends upon your performance of good works (the *wird*); as illumination comes in proportion to the purity of the inner qualities (a heart free from carnal desires, etc.). A heedless person will consider what he will do, but the intelligent person considers what Allah will do with him.

The servants of Allah and ascetics are separated from everything (until they are alone at the end of the journey) because they are absent from Allah in everything. If they behold Allah in everything which they do and command, then they will not be separated from everything. Allah has ordered you to observe all that He has made so that you may be guided thereby to His unity, and He will open to you in the world to come the perfection of His divine essence. Since He has known that you are impatient due to your absence from Him, He causes you to see what is manifest from Him (in created things). (172-176)

Since Allah knew of your weakness, He has varied for you the forms of obedience, giving you intermission in obedience, so that your aspiration might be to perform worship properly.

When Allah knew that you grew weary in performing divine service, He varied the forms of obedience: and knowing of your excessive eagerness, He gave you intermission in obedience during some of the appointed times, so that your aspiration might be to perform worship properly together with its restrictions, stipulations and manners, not merely the fact of worship: for not everyone who performs worship is actually worshipping. (177-179).

By the acts of worship your heart is cleansed and you have access to Allah. In order that you may obtain your reward Allah has modified the requirements of worship to suit your weakness.

By the act of worship the heart is cleansed from the impurities of sin, and the door of all that is invisible is opened. Worship is the place of private converse with Allah and the source of all sincerity. In it the arenas (places of conflict) of mysteries are wide, and in it there shines the illumination of all the lights. Allah knew the quality of the weakness in you, so He reduced the number of periods of worship from fifty to five, and in view of your need of His bounty He increased the reward by making one reward to have the same advantage as ten. (180-183)

When you desire a substitute for good works you must be sincere in the performance of them, while it suffices for the insincere that that they are brought into the light of Islam.

When you sought a substitute for good works you were required to be sincere in the performance of them, while for those who are not sincere it is sufficient that they receive safety from unbelief; that is, Allah brings them out of the darkness of unbelief into the light of Islam. You should not seek a substitute for any good work which in reality you do not perform, knowing that it is sufficient for you to have One who receives your good works. When Allah desired to manifest His bounty towards you He created good works and assigned them to you (by *kasb*). (184-188)

If Allah leaves a person alone his condemnation is severe, but he is fortunate if Allah reveals to him the attributes of His generosity. You should depend upon these attributes, but do not claim them as if they were your own.

You should be dependent upon the attributes of Allah's divineness, and you should actually possess the quality of your own divine service (that is; poverty, abasement and weakness). Since Allah does not allow you to claim the possession of any other creature, it is certain that He will not allow you to claim any of your Lord's attributes. (189-191)

Divine usages can not be changed for you since you do not change your customs. What you ask for is not so important, but it is necessary that you should have a sense of dependence upon Allah.

Divine usages can not be broken (*kerāmat*) on your account, seeing that you do not break yourself away from your evil customs. The matter of importance for you is not so much the request, as it is that you should be supplied with good manners by complete surrender to Allah. The chief requirement on your part is your quality of necessity (your continual need), and the chief aids in hastening Allah's gifts to you are humiliation and dependence upon Him. (192-194)

Because of your wickedness you can not attain unto Allah, but if Allah desires He can cause you to attain unto Him by covering your evil with His good attributes.

You can not attain unto Allah until all your wickedness passes away and your claims are blotted out, but should Allah

desire you to attain unto Him He will cover your evil attributes by His good attributes, and your temporary qualities will be covered with Allah's permanent qualities. For Allah causes you to attain unto Him by that which is from Allah to you, *i.e.* divine favor and goodness; and not by that which is from you to Allah, *i.e.* knowledge, works and states. (195-197)

Without divine concealment you are not fit to be received by Allah; thus, you have greater need for Allah's patience while you are obedient than you would have during your disobedience. Concealment is of two varieties; first concealment from being disobedient (for the elect); second, concealment in the act of disobedience (for the common people).

The coming of divine concealment to you makes your good works fit to be received by Allah, thereby giving reality to them by Allah's grace and bounty. Thus you are in greater need of Allah's patience when you are obedient to Him than when disobedient.

There are two varieties of concealment; first, concealment from being disobedient; second, concealment in the act of disobedience. The common people seek the second type of concealment, for they do not look upon their Lord, and created things are great in their sight. They fear that they may lose their standing before men; for they fear men and love their praise, but they are not afraid of Allah. The elect people seek the first type of concealment because they fear to lose their standing in the view of the real king. Thus, whoever honors you is actually honoring the graciousness of Allah's concealment in you, and therefore, praise is due to the one who conceals and not to the one who honors and commends you (198-204)

No one is your true friend except he who already knows your faults, that is your Lord.

No one is your true friend until he has become acquainted with your faults. The best example of such a friend is the Lord. The best person with whom we can make friends is that one who does not seek the friendship because of some advantage which he hopes to gain. The only friend of this type is the Lord. (205-206).

If you had the light of certainty you would see the hereafter very near and the good things of this life would be hidden. You are not veiled from Allah by any existing thing, but only your imagination that something exists together with Him.

If the light of certainty should appear to you, you would then see the hereafter so close that you would not need to go to it, and you would see that the good things of this life are hidden (eclipsed) by the experience of "passing away". You have not been veiled from Allah by anything having an existence in

connection with Allah, but that which veils you from Allah is only your imagination that something exists together with Him. (207-208)

If Divine Reality were not revealed in created things they would not be seen. He is the Inward,—enveloping the existence of everything, and He is the Outward,—allowing you to observe what is in created things, but not to stop with the created things themselves, for essentially they are non-existent. (209-214)

There would have been no experience of vision if Divine Reality were not revealed in created things. If Allah's attributes were manifested to all hearts then His created things would be wiped out. Divine Reality has manifested everything, since He is the Inward (*bāḥin*), and He envelopes the existence of everything since He is the Outward (*zāhir*). Allah has allowed you to observe what is in created things, but you were not given permission to stop with created things themselves. All phenomenal things have been established by Allah, and they are obliterated by the Oneness of His essence; for everything has its beginning in Him and to Him it returns. (209-214)

When others praise you on account of what they suppose is in you, then you should blame yourself because of your evil manners. When you are praised undeservedly you should render the praise unto Allah.

You are praised because of what others imagine to be in you, but you should blame yourself because of what you know in reality to be in you of things evil and blamable. A believer feels ashamed before Allah when he is praised on Account of a quality which he does not see in himself. The most ignorant of men is he who overlooks the certainty of his own sinfulness on account of a supposed ability to perform good works which appear in him. Whenever you are praised, while you are unworthy of the praise, you should render the praise to Allah because it is due to Allah's having concealed your faults that praise was offered to you. (215-218)

Praise makes the ascetic sorrowful, thinking it comes from created beings, but it makes the adept happy for he considers that it comes from Allah. When favor makes you happy and restraint makes you sorrowful you are then as an infant among the Sūfis, and your service to Allah is not perfect.

Praise causes the ascetic to be sorrowful, for he considers that praise comes from created beings; but the adept is happy when he is praised, for he considers that praise is from Allah. When you are in a condition to receive favor, the favor makes you happy; and when you are in a condition of restraint, the restraint makes you sorrowful. This situation should help you to know that you are being treated as an infant in the ranks of the Sūfis,

and that your service to Allah is not perfect because there still remains in it something of your lower self. (219-220)

When you commit sin do not allow that to discourage you, as it may be the last sin that Allah has decreed for you.

At times the periods of difficulty bring you benefit, while there are times of joy which produce no benefit.

In case you should commit sin you should not allow that to discourage you in your hope of being established with your Lord. It is possible that this may be the last sin that Allah has decreed for you. By remembering what comes from Allah to you, the door of hope may be opened to you ; but if you desire the door of grief to be opened, then you should look at what goes from you to Allah of mean actions and evil manners. There are times when you receive benefits from the periods of difficulty and sorrow while from the times of joy you received no benefit. (221-223)

Lights appear in the hearts and inner beings, for they come from the unseen treasures. There is a light which unveils for you His " effects ", and another unveils Allah's qualities. At times all hearts and lights stand still, being veiled by the thickness of external things lest they may be made common place by being manifest.

The lights (from which are produced hope and fear) appear in the hearts and inner beings. There is a light which Allah has placed in the hearts, the help of which is due to the light which comes from the unseen treasures, and there is also a light which unveils for you His " effects ", and another which unveils Allah's qualities. At times all hearts and all lights stand still, being veiled from that which illuminates, just as souls are veiled by the obscurity of " others " (habits and desires). Allah has covered the lights of inner beings by the thickness (obscurity) of external things, lest they may be made commonplace by being manifest, and lest they should receive distinction through popularity. (224-228)

Allah's guide to His saints is that which leads to Himself.

At times He shows you His unseen kingdom and veils from you the beholding of the secret of His servants, for this secret knowledge would be a menace if you were not equipped with the character of divine mercy.

The only guide that Allah has given to His saints (*walî*) is that which leads to Himself, and Allah has brought to these saints only those whom He wishes to bring to Himself. At times He shows you His unseen kingdom and veils from you the beholding of the secret of His servants, so that one can not distinguish foe from friend, or evil from obedience. This knowledge of the secrets of His servants is a menace (temptation) to anyone in case it is revealed to one who is not equipped with the character of divine mercy. (229-233).

Knowledge gained through disobedience is external, and that gained by obedience is internal and secret. Secret things

stop at sincerity of purpose which comes from the heart, being difficult to understand and more difficult to heal due to hypocrisy.

That which the soul gains in the knowledge of disobedience is extenal and apparent, and that which the soul gains in the knowledge of obedience is internal and secret, and the healing of that which is secret is difficult to perform. For the secret things stop at sincerity of purpose and the purpose comes from the works of the heart which are difficult to understand, and the healing of them is still more difficult: for at times hypocrisy enters into you at a place where created things take no notice. (234-236)

Your desire that created beings should know your characteristics indicates your lack of sincerity in divine service. You should ignore the notice of creatures by paying attention to Allah's notice.

Your desire that created beings should know of your special characteristics is a proof of your lack of sincerity in divine service. You should ignore the creature's notice of you (for this notice produces no injury and no advantage) by paying attention to Allah's notice of you (for He notices both them and you) and disregard the manner in which creatures approach you by observing how Allah approaches you. (237-239)

Acquaintance with Divine Reality enables you to see Him in everything, and passing away into Him enables you to get away from everything else. Divine Reality is veiled from you only by His extreme nearness to you.

Whoever is acquainted with Divine Reality will see Him in everything, and whoever passes away in Him will get away from everything else, and whoever loves Him will not prefer any of his own intentions or desires to Him. Divine Reality is veiled from you only by His extreme nearness to you and because of the intensity of His manifestations and because of the greatness of His light. (240-245)

You should desire, not to receive a gift from Allah, but to demonstrate the quality of divine service to Him. Your request now can not influence decrees already made; for in His eternity good works had no effect and the states did not exist, but now, due to His mercy, He requires good works from you.

It should be your desire not to obtain a gift from Allah, thereby showing your meagre understanding, but your desire should be to demonstrate the quality of your divine service, which is the purpose of Allah for you, and to fulfil the rights of His lordship. A request in the present time can not be the means of obtaining a favor decreed at some previous time, since the decisions of Divine Reality made since eternity are prior (*qadim*). Thus, Allah's favor to you is not due to anything from you, for in His eternity good works had no effect and the states did not

exist. At that time nothing existed but His pure bounty and great favor for which there is no cause. Divine Reality knew the desire of His servants, so He said, "He specially favors with His mercy whom He will." Yet Allah knew that if He left the servant with that condition only and did not require good works they would certainly be omitted. Therefore, He said: "The mercy of Allah is nigh unto those who do well." (246-254)

Everything depends upon the will of Allah, so when the servants omit their requests they are relying on His will and are too busy mentioning Him (*dhikr*) to ask for anything.

Everything depends upon the will of Allah, but His will does not depend upon anything. At times the servants omit their requests for some of the states due to respect, in as much as they rely on His will and are too busy with the mentioning of Him (*dhikr*) to ask anything of Him. Only those are warned of this who might fall into carelessness or neglect. (255-257)

The coming of destitution is profitable to you for it causes the spreading out of Allah's gifts. If you desire these gifts, then make your personal poverty and destitution real in yourself.

The coming of destitution is a profitable thing for the devotees; for at times you find during the increase of destitution what you did not find during the times of fasting and worship. These destitutions are the spreading out of the gifts of the Lord. If you desire these gifts then you should make your personal poverty and destitution real in yourself; as it is said, "Alms are only for the needy." (258-260)

Reality in abasement will insure help from Allah's bounty.

When He continues you in a certain state you can take that as evidence that He has placed you there.

By making your attributes real, Allah will help you with His attributes. If your lowliness is made real, Allah will help you with His glory. If you make your inability real, Allah will help you with His power. If you make your weakness real, Allah will help you with His might and strength. At times Allah supplies divine grace to those who are not perfect in the steadfastness of their divine service. One of the indications that Divine Reality has placed you in any of the causal states, or in detachment from the world, is His continuing you therein together with the gaining of the advantages of it. (261-266)

One's entrance into the way of truth is not to be interpreted as the result of good works, but of Allah's bounty.

Whoever interprets his entering the way of truth to be the result of the extent of his good works and of his presenting them without the help of Allah, such wickedness will make him dumb before his Lord, but whoever interprets his entering the way of truth as being due to the extent of Allah's goodness to him and he forgets himself and his good works, then he is not made dumb

when he does evil, but he can voice his request to the Lord with ease. (267-268)

The wise are illuminated before they speak so their statements are from their hearts, and whoever is permitted to interpret will be understood by all creatures.

The lights (insight) of the learned precede their words, so when there is illumination it means that an interpretation of all that they say has come. The reason for this is on account of their statements coming from their hearts, and whoever is permitted to interpret, (his interpretation and comment) will be understandable to all creatures. At times divine realities issue forth with the lights covered, since permission has not been given to reveal them, or for the purpose of showing the way to some novice. The first (those who have the overflow of ecstasy) is the state of the people of the Path, or the beginners, who travel from the abundance of their own selves to the presence of Reality. The second is the state of those who are established and have confirmed reality. (269-274)

The interpretations referred to above are the nourishment of the needy who hear them. The people of the Path should not interpret their mystical experiences, but leave the interpretation to the teacher, in order not to decrease the effect of these experiences in their hearts.

The interpretations referred to above are the nourishment of the needy who hear them. (One does not possess anything except what he eats.) A person's interpretation of a station, whether it be observed from a distance, or one at which he has arrived, is obscure unless he possesses the spirit of insight. It is not fitting for the people of the Path to interpret a mystical experience which has come to them, but rather the interpretation should be left to the teacher. If the people of the Path should attempt the interpretation it will decrease the effect of these experiences in their hearts and prevent the existence of sincerity with their Lord. (275-277)

Do not receive a gift from creatures unless the one who gives it to them is Allah. Adepts should be ashamed to mention their need before creatures if they are ashamed to mention it before Allah.

You should make no advances to receive a gift from creatures unless you see that the one who gives it to them is Allah, in which case you may receive it providing it agrees with your knowledge of the conditions which would permit you to do so. Sometimes adepts are ashamed to mention their need before their Lord, being satisfied with His will. Then they should also be ashamed to confess their need before His creatures. (278-279)

When faced with two doubtful works, select the one that would be more difficult for the lower self, which is tardy about performing the obligatory duties. That you be

not hindered by procrastination, Allah has connected all the acts of obedience with specific periods and has made obedience obligatory, so as to make sure of your entrance into heaven.

When you are faced with the necessity of performing one of two doubtful works, whether they are both obligatory, or both handed down by tradition, then you must investigate which of the two is more difficult for the lower self and then follow that work. For if any work seems difficult to the lower self truly it must be a duty. One of the characteristics of a man who follows his lower nature is that he quickly performs all the traditional religious exercises, and he is tardy about performing the obligatory duties. In order that you may not be hindered by procrastination in performing these acts of obedience, Allah has connected all the acts of obedience with specific periods, and He has extended the periods for you so as to provide you a measure of choice. Since Allah knows how inclined His servants are to be neglectful in their dealings with Him He has made obedience obligatory. Then Allah marvelled at the number of people who are driven into heaven by chains (compelled to enter). Allah has made nothing obligatory to you except obedience to Him so as to make sure of your entrance into heaven. If a person should say that Allah has not delivered him from his lusts and has not released him from the results of his carelessness, it is as if he weakened the power of his Lord, and whoever minimizes the power of his Lord is an unbeliever. (280-285)

If a person fails to appreciate the value of divine favor he will learn its value by the absence of it. Your lack of gratitude will diminish your value to your Lord.

At times the darkness of carelessness and evil desires come upon you in order that Allah may acquaint you with the value of that which He has granted to you. If a person fails to appreciate the value of divine favor when he possesses it, then he will learn its value by the absence of the favor. You should not be surprised by the amount of divine favors which come to you, and, on that account, cease to perform your duties of thankfulness to the Giver of the favors. Failure in gratitude is one of the things which diminishes your value to your Lord. (286-288)

The carnal nature should be put out of the heart, so that Allah may have undivided control of the heart.

The continual attractiveness of the carnal nature in the heart, due to the desires of the lower nature and disobedience to the principles of law, is a state of illness which no medicine can cure. Desire can only be put out of the heart by fear which disturbs it, or by longing which agitates it. Since Allah does not like good works which are shared, as in the case of those who are guilty of hypocrisy, neither does He like the heart which is shared with the love of things other than Himself. Good works which are shared

He will not receive, and a heart which is shared He will not approach. (289-292)

Only the heart which is void of " effects " and carnal desires can receive illumination and *gnosis*.

Some lights reach the visible heart, but they do not enter it, while other lights are permitted to enter within the heart. There are times when the lights from Allah come to your heart and find it filled with all forms of " effects " due to the desires of the lower nature, therefore they return to the place whence they came, because they can not remain in the heart due to its uncleanness. When the servant cleanses his heart of all carnal desires and clothes it with the opposites, then Allah will fill it with all *gnosis* and mysteries. Thus, you should not say that the gifts (lights) from Allah are delayed; thereby indicating your satisfaction with your lower self, but you should say that the delay is due to the way in which you come before Allah. (293-296)

Spiritual duties must be fulfilled at their proper time. How can you compensate for them at a later time ?

All duties are divided into two groups; first, duties in the spiritual states (*waqt*) ; second, duties of the spiritual states. There are duties in the spiritual states which can be substituted, or compensated for, when they are omitted from worship, *i.e.*, fasting, alms and such like. Then there are duties of the spiritual states which can not be compensated for when omitted, since they follow each other in such rapid succession. The coming of each spiritual state (even a breath) lays upon you a new duty from Allah, (that is the duty of praise to Him for the issue of the breath) and some definite work which the spiritual state requires. Thus, there is no time in any given state to make up for a duty omitted in some previous state. You must know that there is no substitute for that part of your life which is past, and that advantages required in this life are priceless. Truly you should spend all your time in thankfulness for what is gained. (297-300)

Obedience is commanded for the servant's own advantage.

Your obedience or disobedience to Allah does not cause Him any gain or loss. Allah has ordered you to be obedient for your own sake.

One does not like anything except at the expense of becoming a servant to it, and Allah does not like you to become a servant of anything other than Himself. (Whoever loves the world is indeed the servant of the world, and whoever loves Allah he is the servant of Allah). Your obedience to Allah does not cause Him any gain, and your disobedience does not cause Him any damage. Thus, Allah has ordered you to be obedient and has restrained you from disobedience only because of that advantage which comes back to you. Allah's glory is not increased by the presence of those who present themselves before Him and His glory is not diminished by the turning away of those who run from Him, for His

attributes are unchangeable and His glory is one of His attributes. (301-304)

Your union with Allah means getting to know Him, and to know that He is near. Divine Realities come in an unrecognizable state then, comes the explanation, as in Qur'an 75 ; 18-19.

Your attaining to Allah means that you have attained to a knowledge of Him. Except in that way it is impossible that anything should be said to attain union with Him, or that He should have union with anything; for union and separation are among the attributes of an originated thing. Your proximity to Allah consists in your beholding His proximity. In regard to the matter of proximity and distance, they are limitations which concern you only. When you face toward created things then you are far away, and when you face toward reality then are you close to Allah. Divine realities, which assist in recognizing Allah and in coming close to Him, come in an unrecognizable state to the servant, but after they are retained in the heart then occurs the explanation (as in Qur'an 75 ; 18-19), as Allah has said ; " When we read it, then follow its reading, and again it is for us to explain it." (305-308)

When mystical experiences come to you they will destroy evil manners (as indicated in Qur'an 27; 34). The mystical experience comes from Allah who overcomes, so nothing attacks it without being destroyed, (Qur'an 21: 18).

When divine mystical experiences come to you they will destroy evil manners in you, as Allah has said, " Kings, when they enter a city, despoil it " (change the state of it). The mystical experience comes from the presence of Allah who overcomes (is harsh), on that account nothing attacks (resists) it without being destroyed as Allah has said, " Nay, we hurl the truth against falsehood and it crashes into it, and lo ! it vanishes." (309-310)

Whatever would try to veil Divine Reality would only reveal Him, for He is present in it.

Divine Reality can not be veiled by anything, since that which would try to veil Him only reveals Him, for He is present in it. (311)

Be not discouraged if your good works are not accepted quickly.

You should not be discouraged in case good works, in which you do not feel your heart to be present with Allah are not accepted quickly. At times good works are accepted and their fruit is bestowed upon you at a later time. (312)

Do not overestimate mystical experiences, the fruit of which is uncertain. Do not seek for the continuation of the mystical experiences after their purposes are accomplished. You are independent of everything but Allah.

Mystical experiences, the fruit of which is uncertain, should not be over estimated. For example, rain is not necessary from the clouds, but in order to produce fruit rain is necessary. So the value of the mystical experience is in its effect upon you. You should not seek for the continuation of the mystical experiences after their illumination and secrets have produced their intended mission. While you abide in Allah you are independent of everything, but nothing makes you independent of Allah. (313-314)

Your failure to attain union with Allah is shown by your interest in other things.

Your desire for the continuation of things other than Allah indicates that you have not found Him; for if you had found Him you would have been satisfied with Him. Your failure to attain to Allah is shown by your isolation because of the lack of things other than Him, and if you do not attain unto Him it will satisfy you to have familiarity with Allah rather than isolation from others. (315-316)

Pleasure is to be found only in the vision of Allah, and pain in His being veiled. Part of your pleasure is the granting to you of what is sufficient and the denying to you that which makes you rebellious.

Pleasure, in whatever way manifested, is pleasure only because of seeing Him and being close to Him, for every pleasure, other than beholding Allah, is non-existent, and health, other than nearness to Him, is virtually pain. Suffering, in whatever form manifested, is only suffering because of His being veiled. Thus, the cause of the suffering is the existence of the veil and the perfection of pleasure is produced by looking upon the face of Allah. Whatever of aspiration and sorrow is experienced when one does not achieve one's aim and one's customs change, the reason is due to his inability to behold the existence of Allah who did it. Part of what brings the perfection of pleasure upon you is the granting unto you that which is sufficient for you (the works of religion and your world, so that you will be free from everything else other than that and He will fill you with His illuminations): and the denying to you that which makes you rebellious. It is better for you to have a little that causes you joy, and then there will be little which will cause you sadness. (317-321)

Worldly authority should be avoided as a cause of trouble.

Allah made this world to be a place of trouble so as to make it easy for you to separate from it.

If you wish not to be deposed from your authority then you should not assume authority which is not permanent. No earthly authority is permanent, thus, if you are not deposed during your life time you will certainly be deposed at your death. If the beginnings of worldly authority cause you pleasure, then the conclusions will cause you to renounce it, for it will soon come to an end. If outward things invite you to pleasure, certainly inward things will repel you from it, seeing that its work tends toward evil

ways. Divine Reality has made the authority of this world to be a place for things other than Allah, and the source for the existence of trouble, so as to make you renounce it. Allah knew that you would not receive advice, so He caused you to taste the flavour of it (authority), thus making it easy for you to separate from it. (322-325)

Useful knowledge is that which causes reverent fear of Allah.

Useful knowledge is that, the light of which, is diffused in the heart opening up not only the reality of this world and the world to come, but also the veil of the heart. The best knowledge is that accompanied by fear; for fear comes only by understanding the attributes of Allah. If knowledge is accompanied by fear of Allah then its reward and recompense become your possession, and if not then you will meet with its sins and sufferings. (326, 328)

It is better to be satisfied that Allah knows us than to seek satisfaction in the approbation of created things.

Whenever you are pained by the failure of created beings to come before you with kindness, praise and respect, or by their blaming you, then you should take refuge in Allah's knowledge concerning you. In case Allah's knowledge of you does not satisfy you, then your misfortune, due to the absence of satisfaction in His knowledge, is much more serious than is your misfortune in being pained by them. Allah brought pain upon you by the hand of created beings so as to prevent you from relying upon them. By making these things troublesome to you Allah has arranged matters so that nothing could divert you from Him. (329-332)

Satan is not neglectful of you, so you should not be neglectful of Allah, Allah has made Satan to be your enemy in order to drive you to Himself.

Since you know that Satan is not neglectful of you, you should not be neglectful of Allah who controls both Satan and you by His power. You are mindful of Allah when you are continually mentioning Him and following His commands by keeping far from things which He forbids, by making divine service real before Him and submitting to Him. Allah has made Satan to be your enemy in order to drive you to Himself, and He aroused the passions of the lower self against you so that you might present yourself before Allah continually. (333-334)

You should determine to humble yourself. Those who really humble themselves are those who consider themselves inferior to the work in which they have been engaged. True humility comes from beholding the greatness of Allah and the manifestations of His attributes.

When you make up your mind to humble yourself you are in reality exalting yourself; for there is no one who humbles himself except he who sees himself to be eminent. People are not considered to be humbling themselves when they feel that they belong

to a higher rank than that associated with the work they have been engaged in, but those who really humble themselves are those, who, during the period of humiliation, consider themselves inferior to the work in which they have been engaged. True humiliation is that which comes from beholding the greatness of Allah and the manifestation of His attributes. When one sees the perfection of Divine Reality then everything else besides Him diminishes. Your only escape from beholding the attributes which are base and carnal is for you to gaze upon the attributes which are glorious and divine. (335-338)

The true believer is he who praises Allah and the true lover is not he who seeks a reward, but Allah who is bounteous to you.

The believer is he who is more concerned about giving praise to Allah than he is about congratulating himself, seeing that his Lord is worthy of praise, and is more concerned about his duty to Allah than he is about remembering his own advantages. A person who really loves is he who has no hope of gaining a reward for his good works from Him whom he loves, and he does not seek from Him a recompense: for real love accepts with the love of the heart the excellence of the one loved until nothing remains therein for any other. A person who really loves is he who gives his life for the one whom he loves, since he believes the gift is small. The person who receives the gift is not considered to be the one who loves. (339-341)

If it were not for the desires and pleasures in which souls occupy themselves there would be no reality in the way of the traveler. The distance between you and your Lord is the journey you must travel.

If it were not for the desires and pleasures in which souls occupy themselves certainly the way of all those who travel would not be a reality. There is no distance between you and your Lord until your way passes through it, and there is no space between you and Allah until it is effaced by your attaining to Him. (342)

You are the middle world between the world of sense and the world of the unseen. This shows the greatness of your position. You are like a pearl enclosed between the sky above and the earth beneath. You who are in the phenomenal world are imprisoned by all that surrounds you, being bound to it as long as you do not behold Allah.

Allah has made you to be the middle world which is located between the world of sense and experience, and the world of the unseen and hidden. He has done this to inform you how great is your position (value) among all created things. In this position you are likened unto a pearl enclosed in the two parts of the shell; the sky is above you and the earth is beneath you. The phenomenal world has enlarged you in the matter of physical

things (your body), being hemmed in by causes which are dependent on the phenomenal world, yet the phenomenal world has not enlarged you in the matter of your soul's position, for it should not be dependent on anything but Allah. You who are in the phenomenal world and to whom all the arenas of the invisible have not been opened are imprisoned by all that surrounds you, *i.e.* the sensual part of life, and you are enclosed in the mass of your bodily essence which requires the seeking after all that you desire. You accompany the phenomenal world by being bound to it as long as you do not behold Allah who created it, then all the phenomenal world is accessible to you. (343-346)

Special gifts do not imply the non-existence of human attributes. The special gifts come to you like the rising of the sun, but they do not belong to you.

The non-existence of human attributes does not necessarily follow from the continuance of special gifts which consist of the manifestation of His great attributes, and your being clothed with holy attributes. The special gifts of *gnosis* and such like which are manifested in you are, for example, like the rising of the sun, at dawn it appears on the horizon, but it does not belong to the horizon. Thus, special gifts are manifested to you, but they do not belong to you. Sometimes the light of Allah's attributes illuminate the night of your dark existence, and sometimes He removes from you your darkness and brings you back to your origin (in the matter of lowliness, poverty, weakness and feebleness). So the dawn, while it does not belong to you, yet it has come upon you so that Allah might inform you of the existence of your Lord who rules over you in the matter of things which He grants you. (347-349)

Allah has revealed Himself from His "effects" to His names and attributes and so to His essence but to the "attracted" in the reverse order, beginning with His essence. So the "journeyers" attain to Allah in the reverse order to the "attracted".

Allah has revealed by the existence of His "effects" the existence of His names, and by the existences of His names He has revealed the permanence of His attributes, and by the permanence of His attributes He has revealed the existence of His essence; for it is impossible for the attributes to stand by themselves. To the people of ecstasy Allah has revealed the perfection of His essence before anything else, afterwards they are turned to look upon His attributes, then they see that they themselves did not recognize the essence by His attributes, for they had not reached the reality of essence. After that they were turned back to connection with all his names; for they see that they did not recognize the attributes, but rather His names revealed His attributes. Following that they were turned to looking on His "effects", realizing that they did not recognize Allah in His reality, but rather the "effects".

The "journeyers" (*sālik*) are the opposite of the "attracted" (*majdhūb*). In case the "journeyers" attain to Divine Reality it is by created things. The end of the "journeyers" is the beginning of the "attracted", and the beginning of the "journeyers" is the end of the "attracted". While both agree in one sense, yet both have not the same meaning. The attracted attain to the "effects" without confirmation, while it is through the "effects" that the journeyers seek the way. At times both meet in course of travel, for the place in which they travel is the same and their aim is the same; the attracted go down from Reality to the law, and from the Effector to the effects, the journeyers go up from created things to Reality and from effects to the Effector. (350-353)

Illumination of the heart is not known except in the unseen world, and the fruits of good works come in the hereafter.

How can you seek a recompense for your good works, or a reward for your sincerity, since Allah has granted them to you?

The value of the lights of hearts and mysteries is not known except in the unseen world, just as the lights of the sky (the shining of the sun and moon) do not appear except for this world. The fruits of obedience can be gathered now, but the fruits of good works come in the hereafter. You should continue to seek a recompense for your good works from the Lord, for it is He who will bestow it upon you, and moreover, you should not seek for a reward for your sincerity since Allah has already granted them to you. (354-356)

Similarly the "attracted" are illuminated before their *dhikr*, whereas the "journeyers" receive their illumination after their *dhikr*.

There is one group whose lights precede their *dhikr*, they are the "attracted" and the people of favor, who consider that the existence of their Lord preceded everything. There is another group whose *dhikr* precedes their lights, they are the "journeyers" and the people of the way. Some people recite the *dhikr* in order that their hearts may be illuminated. Still another group recite the *dhikr* and always have their hearts illuminated by reciting the *dhikr* according to the light which is from their Lord. For the *dhikr* does not make any outward appearance except it comes from the inward beholding and reflecting. (357-359)

Allah has shown you Himself before asking you to testify, then outward things confessed His divinity and hearts confirmed His unity. Allah has honored you with three honors; He has made you a reciter of the *dhikr*; he made you to be mentioned by Allah; and He made you to be mentioned with Him.

Allah has shown you the perfection of His essence in the unseen before asking you to testify that He is your Lord, and so,

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at that time outward things confessed His divinity, and hearts and secrets confirmed His unity. Allah has honored you with three honors: First, He has made you a reciter of the *dhikr* to Him, causing the *dhikr* to Him to be performed on your tongue and if it were not for this favor you would not be fit to perform the *dhikr* to Allah. Second, He made you to be mentioned by Allah (Allah is the one mentioned and you are the one who mentions); for He confirmed His relation. Third, He made you to be mentioned with Him, for He said, "Remember Me then, and I will remember you." Thus Allah perfected His bounty upon you. (360-361)

The useful thing is not to have a long life, but that one should receive the favors and bounties of Allah and thus should attain unto Allah.

Some people live to an old age and are of very little advantage to the world, as for example some of the men of Israel, one of whom lived for 1,000 years, and yet was of no more benefit to his people than those who lived only a short while. Some lives are very short, yet their advantage is very great. Whoever is given a blessing in his life time, receives during a short period of time some of the favours of Allah which are not easily explained and with which there is no indicated explanation. The most helpless condition is that one should have leisure (plenty of time) for all his affairs and then not have time to come to Allah's presence with sincerity of intention until He opens to you that to which your aspirations do not reach, or that the work which hinders you should be very little, *i.e.* that which is caused by the lower self, and yet you do not go to Allah from the realms of your lower self. (362-364)

Meditation is the way for the heart towards the passing away of material things ("others"). Meditation is also the illumination of the heart which reveals the realities of things.

Meditation is the heart's movement in the arenas (areas of spiritual conflict) of "others" until one sees the passing away of everything. Meditation is the lamp of the heart which reveals the realities of things, so when it (meditation) ceases there is nothing that will illuminate the heart. A tradition states that meditation for one hour is better than divine service for seventy years. (365-366)

For "journeyers" meditation comes from verifying and believing; for the "attracted" it comes from beholding and perceiving by their insight, and thus they recognize divine reality.

Meditation, as to its essence and its connection, is of two kinds; one meditation is that which results from verifying and believing and leads to the understanding of this world and the world to come, of the lower self and its deceits, and of Satan and his wiles. The second meditation is that which results from

beholding and perceiving, that is meditation on the attributes of Divine Reality and on His essence being free from defects as is fitting for His essence.

The first meditation is for those who accept interpretation among the people of the journey and the novices, since they progress by seeking guidance from the effects to the Effector. The second meditation is for those who possess vision and have insight among the people who behold Divine Reality with a falling away of all effects. These are the ones who behold and recognize Reality and see the reality of truth. They travel among Allah's creatures at times by the light of reality, and at times by the light of truth. (367-368)

AL-HIKAM AL'ATA'IYAH.

(1) One of the signs that a person holds to (relies upon) his good works is his decrease of hope when he does wrong.

(2) Your desire for "detachment from the world" (*tajrīd*), while Allah has placed you in the "causal station" (*asbāb*), is a part of the hidden lusts, (3) and your desire for the "causal station" while Allah has placed you in "detachment from the world" is a step down from the higher aspirations (*himmat*). (4) Your giving precedence to (putting too soon) these aspirations will not break down the fortresses of predestination. (c)

(a) The writer of the Malay commentary explains that "detachment from the world" for the people of the "path" (*ṭariq*) is that which takes phenomenal things (x) from the heart and consciousness. It is an exalted state which is enjoyed by those who come into the very presence of Allah:—those who are in union with Him, that is, the "attracted" (y) (*ahl al jadhb*) (people of ecstasy).

(b) The "causal station" (z) is a lower state and designates the position of the novice, or neophyte, on the "journey".

(c) "Fortresses of predestination" refers to that which, from eternity, Allah has ordained to be, and this power belongs to Allah alone.

(x) The phrase "phenomenal things" (*al-hawā*), as used in this work, refers to things created by Allah, or "created things"; that is, things which come into being by Allah's use of the creative word *kun* "be".

(y) Those who preferred orderly progress under definite laws were *saliks* "journeyers", while those who embarked without restraint on the broad sea their feelings of God's drawing them and attracting them to Himself were *majdhubs*, "attracted". Macdonald, *Religious Attitudes and Life in Islam*, p. 258.

(z) The term "causal station" is used here as an expression for that by means of which one attains to any desired thing which he may receive in this world.

(5) Rest yourself from "forethought" (*iadbīr*). (That is from taking thought about the matter of working for nourishment, or sustenance, and from whatever else of the things feared and hoped for, and return to your Lord who rules over you by His forethought. Let forethought be for Allah alone). (6) But things which another (that is; Allah) has performed for you (a) (of all the affairs of this world and the world to come) you must not perform for yourself. (7) Your earnest effort for the things which have been guaranteed to you (of sustenance), and your remissness in what has been required of you (of worship), is an indication of your lack of certainty and of the obscurity of your spiritual insight (*mata hati*). (b)

(a) In this passage the Arabic expression *Qama bihī ghairuka* is put literally into Malay by using the expression *berdiri dengan dia lain-mu*. In ordinary Malay that expression would have no meaning, but it is evident that *berdiri* is being used in the sense of "establish" or "perform," in place of its common meaning "to stand". Thus, the meaning of the expression must be "performed by one other than yourself."

(b) The commentator explains his use of the expression *mata hati*, (literally, "eyes of the heart") to mean that light which Allah has placed in the heart, which understands thereby the purposes of Allah for the servant.

(8) Do not allow delay in His bounty (a), while you are

(a) Gifts or favours, which the *sūfī* may seek from Allah. other than the necessities of life.

entirely given to prayer, to be a cause of despair on your part, (9) for He has guaranteed to respond to those prayers of yours in that which He chooses for you, and not in that which you choose for yourself; (10) at a time which He chooses, and not at a time which you choose.

(11) Do not let the non-fulfilment (*a*) of the thing promised cause you to doubt the promise, even though the period be specified; (12) lest this (condition of doubt) should decrease your spiritual insight and quench the light of your inward being (*sarīrat*).

(*a*) The word "fulfilment" is used as a translation of the Malay word *jatoh* (fall), which the commentator uses as a literal translation of *wukū* in the Arabic text. This Arabic word carries the meaning of both "to fall" and "to occur". The writer is using the word *jatoh* then in the sense of "to come to pass" or "to occur".

(13) Whenever He opens to you (to your spiritual insight) some way of understanding (*ta'arruf*) (His names and attributes, and that which opposes your desires, and makes known His power and severity to you), then be not concerned therewith even though your good works be few; (14) for He did not open it to you, (the way of those who are brought near and which leads to the realities of unity and certainty), except that it was his desire (to receive you and) to make Himself known to you (by His acts and His attributes, which show the unity of His essence (*dhāt*)). Do you not know that "making Himself known" (*ta'arruf*) is a thing which He brings unto you?

(15) As for good works, (such as alms, worship and such like) you present these to Him; and where is what you present to Him in comparison with what He brings to you?

(16) There are various forms of good works, for there are various forms of mystical experiences (*wārid*) (*a*) of the states (*hāl*). (17) Good works are forms which exist (the outward forms), and the spirits of them (good works) possess the spirit of inward sincerity (*ikhhlās*). (Works which are without sincerity are like a body without a spirit).

(*a*) The writer of the commentary explains that the term *wārid*; "mystical experience", (see Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* p. 6.) is that which comes to the heart of divine gnosis and spiritual mysteries which necessarily produce praiseworthy states.

(18) Bury your existence in the earth of obscurity (*a*) (that is make yourself of no reputation). Whatever grows up from that which is not buried will not grow up perfectly. (19) Nothing is so profitable for the heart as separating oneself from mankind, by

(*a*) "Bury your existence in the earth of obscurity" is interpreted by the commentator to mean that one should turn away from one's self and be sincere in himself; for as long as the traveler looks towards (desires) a station, he is not fit for that station of love which is the highest of all stations.

means of which the heart enters into the arena of reflection (b) (on realities).

(b) Reflection is said to include three stages; (1) The beginners (*mubtadi'*), who reflect on remembering all their evil deeds, repent and determine not to return to them; for he who has no repentance has no good works. (2) The intermediates *mutawassit* who meditate on all the wisdom of Allah with His favour upon all existing things. (3) Those who have attained (*muntahī*), who reflect upon the details of the acquaintance of their Lord and knowledge received by the special favour of Allah by which the heart enters the holy presence.

(20) How can the heart be enlightened in which (Arabic,—in the mirror of which) the forms of the phenomenal world are reproduced, (21) or how can one travel towards Allah while he is bound by his evil desires (lusts)? (22) or how can one long to enter the presence (a) of Allah while he has not cleansed himself from the impurity (b) of all that he neglects, (23) or how can one hope to understand (c) the fine points of the mysteries while he has not repented of his transgressions?

(a) The commentary explains that the "presence of Allah" is any state in which the servant sees himself to be in the power of Allah; he beholds Him, and, as long as he looks upon Him that way, he is in the presence of Allah.

(b) Impurity has reference to those forms of impurity, on account of which a person is forbidden to enter a mosque, or to read the Qur'an.

(c) The commentary states that the word "understand", as used in the text, means the light which is inscribed in the intellect when that place (the mind) is cleansed of the principle of separation.

(24) The phenomenal world (a) is all darkness, and is illuminated only by the manifestation of Divine Reality in it. (25) Whoever looks upon the phenomenal world, while at the same time he does not see Allah in it, or with it, or in front of it, or after it; his failing to see Him causes him to lack the illuminations. (26) All the luminaries (suns) of gnosis are veiled from him by the clouds of the effects (*āthār*), (b) (which are imaginary and non-existent).

(a) The commentator states that, with reference to its essence, the phenomenal world is all darkness, for it is pure non-existence, and non-existence is darkness as to the past, present and future.

(b) Effects (*āthār*), Every attribute has an effect, *āthar*. Thus, objects of knowledge are the "effects" of the name *al-'Alim* the "Knower." Nicholson *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* p. 100.

(27) One of the things which indicates to you the existence of His quality of superior power (*qahr*), (praise belongs to Him), towards all His creatures, is that He veils you from Himself by means of that which is not an existent thing together with Him in reality.

(28) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while He it is who makes manifest everything (from non-existence to existence)?

(29) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while He it is who is manifest by everything?

(30) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while He it is who is manifest in everything (by His power and the majesty of His attributes) ?

(31) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while He it is who is manifest to everything ?

(32) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while He it is who was manifest before the existence of anything else (before eternity) ?

(33) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while He it is who is more manifest than anything ?

(34) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while He it is who is the ONE, with whom there is nothing (from eternity to eternity).

(35) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while He it is who is closer to you than anything, (even than yourself) ?

(36) How could you imagine that anything would conceal Him, while, if He did not exist (in everything), nothing else would possess existence ?

(37) O, that which makes me wonder is, how could existence be manifest in non-existence ? (38) or how could any originated thing continue together with Him who possesses the quality of Priority (*qidam*) ? (a)

(a) "The second quality necessary to God is priority, (*qidam*) ; its meaning is "lack of beginning". And the meaning of God's being prior (*qadim*) is that there was no beginning to His existence, as opposed to Zayd, for example." Macdonald, *Muslim Theology* p. 322.

(39) There is nothing lacking in the ignorance of the person (a) who desires to perform a work at a time other than that in which Allah has manifested it unto him.

(a) The substance of this statement, as indicated in the commentary, is that a person shows the height of ignorance when he desires to perform a work at a time other than that revealed by Allah. For a person to indulge in such a desire is to turn away from the rules of *wagi* (one's present state, or condition of mind). This the Sūfis claim to be one of the greatest sins of the elect.

(40) Your postponing all good works until you have leisure is one of the foolish acts of your own "self".

(41) Do not seek from Allah that He should remove you from a certain state so that He may employ you in another state; for, if He desires you, He will certainly employ you without any removal.

(42) The aspiration(a) of the "traveler" (on the way to Allah)

(a) The commentary states that when one's aspirations are to remain in such things as have been revealed to him on account of faith, then he has reached the limits of gnosis. Then all the voices of the state call out to him, saying ; "All that you seek is before you". Then you should persevere in your journey and not stop.

does not desire to remain in that which has been disclosed to it (of all knowledge and gnosis) without the voices (b) (of the states (c) which were revealed to them) crying out to him ; " What you seek is before you," (43) and the externals of created things (which tear down all customs) do not appear beautiful, without all their realities crying out to you and saying: "We are merely a temptation, do not disbelieve" (d) (in the grace of our Lord which has been granted unto you).

(b) *Hātif* (voice) refers to one who cries out or proclaims. The word is used to describe a voice which comes, while the speaker remains invisible, bringing mysterious information, or warning. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II. p. 249.

(c) For this word "states" (*hal*, in the Malay) the Arabic text has the word *haqq*. (truth, or certainty).

(d) This means that he should not turn back to those things (external created things), but established himself on his journey.

(44) For your seeking from Him (any of the necessities of life) is as if you blame (a) (*tawkīs*) Him, (45) and your seeking for Him means that you are absent (remote from Him). (46) Your seeking for "other" (b) than Him is because you have but little shame (c) towards Him, (47) and your seeking (for something) from other than Him is because of your being at a distance from Him. (48) There is not a breath that you breathe but that He has the determining in you of its going forth. (d)

(a) The Malay translation uses the Arabic word *tawkīs* (blame) to represent the word *ittiḥām* (suspicion) or accusation, given in the Arabic text.

(b) *Aghyār* (others) refers to all things other than Allah.

(c) The commentary states that if one had a real sense of shame he would not turn back to "others".

(d) In connection with the matter of breathing the commentator states that at every breath the "traveler" is going towards his Lord. Some of the teachers say that the way to Allah is in the enumeration of the creature's breathing. The number of breaths in a day and a night, he says, amounts to 24,000. Thus, the servant's respect for his Lord is registered in his breathing.

(49) You should not keep looking for freedom (leisure) from "others" (*aghyār*), (a) for that would cut you off from the occupation of contemplating Him in that in which He has placed you.

(a) In the commentary the "traveler" is advised not to seek for freedom from "others" by performing good works, but that he should be content in each present state (*waqt*) with the works of that state. *Aghyār*, see note under No. 46.b.

(50) Do not think it strange that trouble should occur to you as long as you are placed in this world, for it (this world) does not bring to light (make evident), anything but what is suitable to describe it and necessary to qualify it. (51) There is no restraint (that is; there is nothing hard) in the thing sought (a) for through your Lord, and there is nothing easy in anything sought for when you are seeking by yourself.

(a) The writer states that divine service (*ubūdiyya*) is what Allah seeks from His creatures.

(52) One of the signs of gaining success^(a) in the endings (of the journey) is the turning to Allah in all the beginnings, for (53) whosoever's beginning is illuminated (by reliance upon Allah and the establishment of divine service) his ending will be illuminated (by attainment of Allah and constancy in His service). (54) Whatever is deposited in the inward part of all mysteries (of gnosis and certainty) will be manifested in the view of all outward things^(b) (through good works).

(a) The Malay word *bahagia* (good fortune) is used as a translation of the Arabic *nujh* (success, prosperity).

(b) The commentator explains that outward things are the mirrors of inward things, and whatever of the gnosis of Allah is deposited in the inner part will certainly be manifested in the view of all outward things by the love of Allah, and whatever of ignorance is deposited in the inward parts will appear in view of all outward things by inclining toward things other than Allah.

(55) There is a long distance between those who take an inference^(a) from Him, and those who take an inference about Him. Those who take an inference from Him recognize Him who is real for His people, and has established the matter from the existence of its Source (that is, Allah). (56) To take an inference^(b) about Him is due to failure to reach Him (*i.e.* to have union with Him). (57) If it were not so (were not due to failure to reach Him), then when is He absent, so that one seeks to be guided to Him (without whom nothing is evident to anyone)? And when is He far off, so that it is the effects (*āthār*)^(c) which bring one unto Him?

(a) The commentator says that those who take an inference about Him are those of the "path", and are veiled from their Lord by seeing the impressions and phenomenal things. Those who take an inference by Him recognise Him who is reality to His people, and who is necessary of existence in His essence, that is; the source of all existent things.

(b) The commentator says that you must know that an inference is taken only for him who is seeking for reality and not for the one who sees it.

(c) For explanation of *āthār* see note under No. 26.

(58) Let those who possess ability make use of (expend of) heir ability; and they are those who have union with Him and those to whom their supply (of knowledge '*ulūm* and *fuhūm*) has been apportioned. (Let them make use of (expend) what Allah has granted to them). They are the people who are on the way toward Him. (59) Those who are traveling toward Him are guided by the lights (illuminations) of seeking His face (*tawajjuh*) (that is, anything presented by them to Allah of all their good works and states and self-mortification in all their worship); and those who have attained have the illumination of communion with Him (*muwājahat*). (60) The former are the slaves of lights (*i.e.* belong to them), (because of the existence of their need of them in order to reach their objective), and as for the latter ones, (that is, those who have attained) the lights belong to them, (because of their being independent of the lights), for they belong to Allah and do

not belong to anything except Allah. (61) Say, (a) O Muhammad, "Allah" (yourself belonging to Him), and let them alone in their confusion to enter into sport (b) (vain discussion).

(a) This is an allusion to Qur'an 6 : 91 "Say ; It is God ; then leave them to their pastime of cavilings." (Rodwell's translation).

(b) The commentator says that the meaning of this exhortation is that the traveler should pay attention to the unity of Allah's oneness without considering "others".

(62) As for your looking at faults (a) which are hidden within you, (that is, imperfect qualities in yourself, of character and action, and manners which lead you away from the path of uprightness and sincerity), your looking at them is better for you than looking for the unseen things which are hidden from you (that is, the mysteries which come to you after the veil of yourself has been lifted), (63) for the Reality, (He is praised and exalted in the perfection of His qualities) is not veiled, (b) but it is only your own self that is veiled from beholding Him. (64) If anything should veil Him, then that which veils Him would cover Him; and if there is anything which would cover Him, then there would be that which, covering His existence, would restrict it, and that which restricts anything is that which overpowers it, but He is the one who overpowers all His creatures.

(a) The commentator explains that "faults" ('aib), cause the veil which hides the unseen. To be cleansed from faults is to open the door to the unseen.

(b) Two kinds of veils are mentioned in the commentary ; (1) The veil of the physical eyes ; (2) The veil of the eyes of the heart. The veil of the physical eyes is one's original faults, which are the qualities of imperfection and of passing away. The veil of the eyes of the heart is one's faults in conduct.

(65) Get yourself out from the attributes of your humanity, (a) from every attribute which is contrary to your divine service (as a servant of Allah), so that you may respond to the call of the Real (*al Haqq*), and come near His presence (by submitting yourself to the qualities of His supremacy).

(a) Attributes of humanity" (*sifat bashariyat*). The commentator says that the human attributes connected with the work of religion are of two kinds; (1) Those connected with the outward members of the servant; that is, good works. (2) Those which are connected with the inner life and heart ; that is, all matters of faith.

(66) The source of all disobedience, heedlessness and lust is satisfaction with "self" (a) (*nafs*), (for this satisfaction covers up the faults of the *nafs*) ; and the source of all obedience and watchfulness in service and of self-restraint is the absence of your

(a) "Ascetic and devotional Sūfism, in agreement with orthodox Islam, distinguishes sharply between the spirit (*rūh*) and the soul (*nafs*). The latter term may, indeed, be used to denote a man's spiritual "self" , but as a rule when Sūfis refer to the *nafs* they mean the appetitive soul, the sensual self which, from their point of view, is wholly evil and can never become one with God." Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 119.

satisfaction with your "self". (67) That you should associate with an ignorant man who is not satisfied with his "lower self" is much better than that you should associate with a learned man who is satisfied with his "lower self". (b) (68) For what kind of knowledge (which can be of any use) has a learned man who is satisfied with his "lower self"? And what kind of ignorance (which is any injury) has the ignorant man who does not find satisfaction with his "lower self"?

(b) The commentary states that the "lower self" is of three kinds: (1) The upbraiding soul (*lawwamat*); (2) The soul that commands to evil (*amārat*); (3) The soul at rest (*mūlma'inat*). (See Macdonald's Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, p. 22). The upbraiding soul (according to the Malay commentary) is the animal soul which perpetuates all lusts. The soul which commands to evil is the devilish nature which increases in its love for defective things. The soul at rest is the intelligent soul which has been cleansed from all impurities and from which all veils have been lifted.

(69) The ray of insight (*shu'ā' al-basīrat*), (that is, the light of intelligence which shows the way of faith) causes you to see His nearness to you (until you see that Allah is nearer to you than the artery of your neck). (70) The eye of insight (*'ain al-basīrat*), (that is, the light of knowledge) causes you to see (that) our own non-existence (is) because of His existence. (71) The reality of insight (*haqq al-basīrat*), (that is, the light of reality, which points to the reality in which we believe) is that which causes you to see His existence, but not your non-existence and not your existence, (and not this world or the hereafter). (72) Allah existed, when there was nothing together with Him, and now He is as He was.

(73) Let not the intention(a) of your aspiration (after Allah) pass over to any other than Him. As for the Beneficent One, all the things one hopes for do not go beyond Him(b) (to any other than Him). (74) Do not present to anyone except to Him any need (c) which He has brought upon you, (such as poverty, sickness and such like). (75) How could anyone other than He take away that which He has brought (placed) before one? (76) Whoever is unable to take away a need (d) (privation) from himself, what power has he to take away a need from one other than himself?

(a) This translation follows the text in a second Malay translation known as the *Hikam Saghir*, due to a misprint in the first Malay translation.

(b) "Beyond Him". All the needs of the traveler can be satisfied in Allah, and no request should be made to any other than Allah.

(c) "Need" (*hājat*). The commentary states that a need is not brought to one except for (to bring about) submission to Allah in all His actions.

(d) "To take away a need" is explained to mean the lifting oneself out of a difficulty. As for example; how can one who is in jail ask one in the same plight to get him out?

(77) If you have not thought well of Him because of His attributes, then think well of Him because of His dealings(a)

(a) *Muā'malat* (dealing) is explained in the commentary as referring to the favour, loving kindness and grace of Allah for the servant.

with you. (78) Has He accustomed you to anything except good things (favors), and has He presented to you anything but the bounties of His grace?

(79) Wonder of wonders : there are those who run away from Him, from whom they have no escape, and seek for that which has no continuance in concomitance with Him.(a) (80) "It is not their eyes that are blind, but blind are their hearts in their breasts", (b) (c), (too blind to find realities, and this is blindness indeed).

(a) " Things which have no continuance with Him ", the commentator says, has reference to created things :—the world and whatever agrees with the sensual part of men's desires. In this connection a quotation is given from Abu Solaiman al-Darani, to the effect that, if he has to choose between two *rah'a* (prayer cycle with prostrations) and entering the heavenly paradise, he would choose the former, as his lower (self) nature would lead him to paradise, but the *rah'a* would lead him to the reality of his Lord.

(b) Qur'an 22 : 45.

(c) The commentator reports Abu 'l-Hasan as saying that blindness of the heart causes three things : (1) Disobedience ; (2) Struggle for obedience ; (3) Covetousness for created things.

(81) Do not wander from one thing to another (a) in the phenomenal world, and thus be like the ass when grinding wheat; the place to which he is going is the place from which he came, (82) but you should go on from the phenomenal things to Him who made them, (so finally you raise your aspirations to Him (considering) " that unto the Lord is the term of all things ; " (b) (83) and you should consider the saying of the Prophet,—may Allah bless him and give him peace ; " whoever purposes to go away (migrate, make the Hijrah) to Allah and His prophet, he does go away (migrate) to Allah and His prophet,(c) (84) and whoever goes to the world, he attains it; or to a woman, he marries her. So his going is unto that to which he goes." (85) You should observe this saying of the Prophet,—may Allah bless him and give him peace ; " His going is unto that to which he goes " and consider well this matter,(d) and to Him all phenomenal things return, so understand this with a true understanding if you possess understanding.

(a) " Going from one thing to another " is explained to mean the performance of good works because one seeks a higher rank in the things of this world and the next. Such an one is traveling like the ass in the mill.

(b) Qur'an 53 ; 43.

(c) The commentary states that " going away to Allah and His Prophet " means, going away from all phenomenal things to the Creator. (The saying of the Prophet) means that while one is performing good works he should conduct himself as if he were going to Allah and His prophet, and should not face toward anything other than them.

(d) The commentary states that the one thing to be considered is the difference between the station of a person who goes away to Allah and His prophet, and the station of the person who goes away to his lower self.

(86) Do not make friends with a person whose state (condition) does not make you to arise (awaken you), and whose conversation does not point you to Allah. (87) At times you are evil,

but your goodness is shown to you by your companionship with a person whose state is much worse than yours.(a)

(a) The commentary explains that there is danger in one's associating with those whose good works are inferior to one's own. Such may lead a person to think too highly of himself.

(88) Not a little of good works springs from the heart of him who withdraws from the world, and there is not much of good works which springs from the heart of him who loves the world (a). (89) The goodness of works results from all the states being good, and the goodness of the states(b) results from being established in the stations which come down from Allah.

(a) The commentary states that the word of Allah came to David, saying "O David, if you love Me then put out of your heart the love of the world. Love for Me and love for the world can never be united in the same heart."

(b) The "goodness of the states" is explained in the commentary to mean gnosis, love, certainty and whatever comes from them of faith and character from being established in the stations sent down from Allah.

(90) Do not abandon the *dhikr*(a) on account of your not being conscious of your presence with Allah therein, for your neglect(b) in not mentioning (recollecting or remembering) Allah (in the *dhikr*) is worse than your neglect while mentioning Him. (91) It may be that Allah will raise you up from the *dhikr* which is accompanied by neglect to a *dhikr* accompanied by vigilance (c). (92) And (it may be that Allah will raise you) from a *dhikr* accompanied by vigilance to a *dhikr* accompanied by Allah's presence (*hudūr*)(d)-(e).

(a) "Their (the Sūfī's) exercises are called *dhikrs* 'rememberings', from the Qur'anic injunction,—'Remember Allah much and praise Him morning and evening' ". Qur'an 33; 41. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* p. 161.

(b) The commentary says that your neglect of the *dhikr* separates you from Allah. It is reported that Wāṣitī said; "Neglect of the reciting of the *dhikr* is much worse than neglect in the *dhikr* itself."

(c) The commentary explains that the *dhikr* accompanied by vigilance is the *dhikr* of the heart which is aroused from drowsiness, carelessness and sleep.

(d) "They are forgetful of the presence of Allah (*al-hudūr ma' Allah*), they are asleep. He that is present with God is awake according to the measure of his presence." Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 92.

(e) The commentary states that the servant advances from the *dhikr* of the heart to the *dhikr* of the consciousness (*ṣirr*), in which state he is absent from anything other than that which is recited in the *dhikr*.

(93) And (it may be that He will raise you) from the *dhikr* accompanied by His presence (*hudūr*) to a *dhikr* accompanied

The commentary states that the *dhikr* of the tongue (*lisān*) along with the vigilance of the heart is the state of the "people of the Way". The *dhikr* of divine presence(*hudūr*) is the station of the elect, and the station of vanishing into Him to whom the *dhikr* of the consciousness (*ṣirr*), in which state he is absent from anything other than that which is recited in the *dhikr*.

The *dhikr*, *lā ilāha illā llāh*, is used to guard against carelessness. The *dhikr*, *Allah, Allah*, is used for the purpose of taking one out from vigilance

by an absence of all things other than Him who is mentioned (in the *dhikr*), (94) and such a thing is not difficult for Allah.

in the *dhikr* into the presence of Him to whom the *dhikr* is addressed. The *dhikr*, *Huwa*, *Huwa*, is for the purpose of bringing one out from everything except Him to whom the *dhikr* is addressed.

There are five methods of performing the *dhikr* :

- (1) Those who recite the *dhikr* with the tongue, but not with the heart.
- (2) Those who recite the *dhikr* with the heart, but not with the tongue
- (3) Those who recite the *dhikr* with the intelligence (*aql*).
- (4) Those who recite the *dhikr* with the consciousness (*sirr*).
- (5) Those who recite (recollect) the very person to whom the *dhikr* is addressed (*'ain al-madhkhūr*).

(95) One of the signs of the deadness(*a*) of the heart is the non-existence of sorrow for what has escaped you of obedience, and the omission of repentance for whatever faults (*b*) you have committed.

(*a*) The commentary states that when the heart is alive through faith is it sorry for any failure in obedience, and repents of whatever evil it has committed.

(*b*) Ibn Mas'ūd is reported to have said ; "The believer looks upon his sins as a hill which he fears may fall upon him, while the disobedient person looks upon his sin as a fly that lights upon his nose."

(96) Do not let your sins become so great to you that it hinders you from good thoughts about Allah, (97) for whoever knows his Lord will think of his own sin(*a*) as small in comparison with His beneficence (*karam*). (98) It (sin) is not little when you are confronted by His justice, nor is it great when you are faced by His grace (*fadl*).

(*a*) The commentary explains that when one overestimates his disobedience, it is small in Allah's sight, and leads to evil thoughts about Allah. Such is a great sin ; it is blameworthy and injures the faith, and thus is more evil ; than his sin. If he is one who knows Allah with real knowledge, certainly his sins will be few in comparison with His beneficence.

(99) There is no good work which can be more relied upon for improving hearts (as its reward) than the good work which disappears from your sight(*a*) (because you see Him who granted it to you), and the existence of which is despicable to you.

(*a*) The commentary says that as long as good works remain in your view they are not accepted from you. When the servant has performed a good work, and then forgets it, that is a sign that it is accepted by Allah.

(100) Allah has only brought to you the mystical experience(*a*) (*wārid*) (*b*) (of divine gnosis) so that by this (mystical experience) you might be a comer (*wārid*) to your Lord. (101) Allah has brought to you the mystical experience, so that He might make

(*a*) The commentary states that the mystical experience is that divine gnosis and spiritual grace which comes to the heart, for thus is the heart cleansed and developed until it is fit to come to Him and to enter His presence.

(*b*) In the Arabic text the word *wārid* is used in two different senses,—"mystical experience" and "a comer". It appears that the Malay translator has not understood this.

you secure from the hand of "others", and might make you free from being enslaved by the "effects" (which enslave you because of your love for them and your abiding in them and holding to them). (102) Allah has brought to you the mystical experience in order that He might bring you out of the prison of your existence (c) into the wideness of your contemplation.

(c) "Prison of your existence" is your contemplation of yourself. There is nothing greater than this, that is your evil self which is bound by your evil disposition, and the "wideness of your contemplation" is your absence from such as that by beholding the greatness (magnificence) of Allah and His majesty and seeing the existence of your action and inaction.

(103) The lights are the steeds of the hearts(a) and inner consciousness,(b) and (104) light is the army of the heart, just as darkness is the army of the lower self. ("Light" is the light of gnosis and reality). (105) Whenever Allah desires to help His servant,(c) He will help him with His armies of lights, and will cut off from Him the influence of darkness and of "others". (106) Light is for unveiling the reality of all things, and insight is for deciding (those things which are evident to it of that which is good and evil), and the heart is for advancing or retreating(according to that which is unveiled to it by the insight).

(a) The "steeds of all hearts" are said to lead to the presence of the Lord who knows all unseen things, and the steeds of the inner consciousness lead into the presence of the Lord who is Almighty by the revelation of divine knowledge.

(b) Whenever light shines in a person's heart he travels on the steeds of his understanding, and whenever it appears in his consciousness he travels by the steeds of knowledge.

(c) "To help His servant" means that Allah helps him overcome his lower self. He fills the servant's heart with the armies of light; that is, grace and guidance.

(107) Do not let obedience cause you to rejoice because the existence of obedience comes from you, (for that would entail conceit and pride in you), (108) but you should rejoice in obedience because it comes from Allah to you, (and this will necessitate thanks to the Lord). (109) "say: Through the grace of Allah and by His mercy, and in that let them rejoice. It is better than that which they collect". (Qur'an 10; 59, Palmer's translation).

(110) Allah, who is praised and exalted, has deprived those who journey toward Him and those who have attained unto Him of seeing their good works and of beholding their "states". (111) As for those who journey (to Him), it is because they have not established the truth of being with Allah in their experiences, (works and states), (112) and as for those who have attained to Him, it is because Allah has made invisible to them all their states, because they see Him in the proximity of His essence.(a)

(a) They do not see their good works because whoever looks upon Allah will at that time, find it impossible to see his good works and states.

(113) The branches of humiliation do not become long except from the seeds of desire(a) (self-interest). (114) There is nothing that leads you (astray) like vain imaginations (*wahm*)(b). (115) Truly you are free in relation to that which you despair of (obtaining), and you become a slave of that which you desire.(c)

(a) "Seeds of desire" (*benih tama*). "O Abū Sa'id, endeavour to remove self-interest (*tama*) from thy dealings with God." Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 51.

(b) Due to its wide range of meaning, the term *wahm* is difficult to understand correctly. Its principle meaning is ; to occur to one's mind; to imagine to guess at: to be an mindful of. Allah has made *wahm* a mirror of Himself and the place where His holiness is manifested. Some Moslems teach that the Angel of Death (*Azrael*) was created from Muhammad's *wahm*. The lower animals also possess *wahm*. In man it raises to consciousness and becomes things, but if *wahm* gains control of man it may cause his destruction. In that the *wahm* must be strictly controlled, it is like the *nafs*,—the appetitive soul. (See Macdonald's, *Wahm in Arabic and Its Cognates*. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Oct. 1922.)

(116) Whoever is not brought to Allah by the kindness of His goodness, will be led toward him by the chains of trial,(a) (117) and whoever is not grateful(b) for bounties is doing that which will cause their cessation, and he who is grateful for them has bound them with their bonds. (118) You should be afraid of His continual goodness towards you while you are continually doing evil towards Him, lest such conduct lead you down as Allah has said : "We will surely lead them down by degrees from whence they do not know."(c)

(a) "Chains of trial" refers either to misfortune as to property, or to personal loss. Thus, he is brought to Allah by compulsion, if he will not come by obedience.

(b) It is explained that gratitude is of three kinds ; (1) gratitude of the heart, (2) gratitude of the tongue, and (3) gratitude of all one's members.

(c) Qur'an 68; 44, 7; 181. Palmer's translation.

(119) It is part of the ignorance(a) of the novice concerning himself (and concerning the reality of his Lord) that he makes his manners(b) evil, but his recompense is delayed, and so he says: "If I have been ill-mannered, certainly Allah would have ceased to help and His remoteness would necessarily follow." (120) But sometimes help(c) is cut off from him, whence he knows not,

(a) The ignorance of the novice is manifest in three ways : (1) By being deceived by the outward appearance of things which enter his imagination. (2) by having good thoughts of himself in the managing of his own affairs. (3) In correcting his faults by opening the gate of interpretation and forgetting to be fearful of fraud.

(b) It is explained that manners are expressed in five different ways. (1) Protecting the honor of Allah by obeying His commands and avoiding what He forbids. (2) Elevating the aspirations in the work of this world and the next until one is not connected with anything inferior outwardly or inwardly. (3) Obeying all commands and omitting all innovations, and to be free from power and strength. (4) Having a strong determination to resist Satan and the lower self. (5) Having gratitude for all favors.

(c) It is explained that sometimes Allah sends one away from His door by giving him help. That is the stratagem (*mahr*) of the Lord. If you glory in it certainly He will not leave you with your wish. You think yourself in a position of nearness, but you are in a position of remoteness.

even though the cutting off of help be only the prevention of increase. At times he is placed in a station of remoteness, whence he does not know, even though the remoteness be only that He leaves you alone to do whatsoever you desire.

(121) When you see a servant whom Allah has placed in the performance of recitations, (that is, the arranging of good works, together with their periods and their states,) and Allah has continued him in them and has prolonged His help (such as extending His sustenance) you should not despise that which his Lord has granted unto him, because you have not seen in him the signs of the adept and the good qualities of those who love Allah: If there were no divine influence then there would be no recitation (*wird*). (See note on *wird* later under No. 169).

(122) The servants of Allah are divided into two classes: (a) One group has been sent by Divine Reality to perform service for Him, and the second group has been appointed by Allah to love Him and to know Him. Allah said: "To all—these and those—will we extend the gift of thy Lord, (O Muhammad) for the gifts of thy Lord are not restricted"(b).

(a) The commentator gives further explanation regarding the two classes: The first group is composed of those who are called ascetics (*zāhid*), and worshippers (*'ābid*). They have been raised up to perform service for Allah until they are fit for His heaven. The second group is composed of the adepts (*'arif*), and the learned (*ulamā*). They are appointed to love Him until they are fit to come near and enter into His presence.

(b) Qur'an 17: 21. (Palmer's translation).

(123) There are but a few of the divine influences (*wāridāt ilāhiya*)(a) that come except as a surprise (suddenly), lest the servant claim them by his preparation (for them).

(124) Whomsoever you see answering every question asked him (of gnosis and unity), and explaining everything he sees (of mysteries and things unveiled), and mentioning everything he knows (of the unseen) you can take that as a proof of his ignorance (of the reality of his Lord, and His wisdom towards His creatures).

(125) Truly Allah has made the hereafter a place for rewarding His believing servants, only because this world could not hold what He desires to give unto them, and because He has exalted their dignity too greatly to reward them in a world which is not eternal. (126) Whoever finds the fruit(b) of his good works now (*i.e.* in this world), that (finding) shows that he will receive acceptance (c) (by the favor of Allah). (127) If you desire to

(a) All influences are gifts from Allah. They usually come suddenly so that the servant may not claim them and think himself worthy of them because of his recitations (*wird*).

(b) It is explained that the fruit of good works is the pleasure and satisfaction obtained from them. Some say the fruit of good works is wisdom, and the fruit of gnosis is love.

(c) The greatest proof of the "acceptance" is the passing away into Allah with Allah (*fana pada Allah dengan Allah*), so that one is eternal with Him.

know your dignity before Allah, you should observe where He has placed you. (d)

(d) "Where He has placed you" means ; that if you are in search of the world and its lusts and pleasures, then Allah despises you and has turned you away from His door. If He has placed you in the position of His servant, in the state of being free from everything else but Him, then Allah has shown you great dignity and favor.

(128) When He grants you obedience and independence (a) with Him of obedience, (b) then truly He has perfected in you all His favors, both outwardly and inwardly, (129) for the best (c) which you seek from Him is that which He seeks from you. (130) Sorrow for the absence of obedience while one does not hasten to put himself in the way of performing it is one of the signs of self-deception.

(a) *Ghana* (independence) also carries the meaning of "rich", The Malay word *kaya* (rich), though it does not have the meaning of "independence", is used everywhere in this work to translate the Arabic word *ghana*.

(b) The commentator says that there are two things expected of the servant : (1) Outward obedience together with good works ; (2) Connection with Allah inwardly ; that is, to be independent with Him of others. When Allah gives these two gifts to the servant, He has truly perfected in Him outward and inner favors.

(c) The "best" is explained to be sincerity in divine service, and the fulfilment of all the rights due to Allah. (Compare with No. 133).

(131) He is not a (real) adept who, when he has made an allusion (to an idea of the Real, in a name or in an attribute), finds the Real closer to him than his allusion ; but the (real) adept is he who makes no allusion because of his passing away (*fana'*) into His existence, and because of his being enveloped (a) in the contemplation (*shuhūd*) of Him.

(a) "Being enveloped" in the contemplation (*shuhūd*) of Him is explained as being an experience of sinking into the contemplation of the majesty and glory of his Lord.

(132) Hope (a) is that which is accompanied by good works, and if it is not so, then it is called desire.

(a) It is explained that hope which is not accompanied by good works is the cause of death, but accompanied by good works it becomes the cause of life.

(133) That which is sought from Allah by all adepts is sincerity in divine service, (a) and the fulfilment of all the rights of His lordship (deity).

(a) Compare with note (c) under No. 129.

(134) You are caused fear (*qabā*) (a) (contraction) so that He may not continue you in joy (*bast*, expansion), (thus you would

(a) The Arabic words *qabā* and *bast* (contraction and expansion) are used to express the ideas of fear and hope, as well as sorrow and joy ; these are expressed in the Malay translation and commentary by the use of the words *takut*, *suka* and *duka*.

become rebellious); and you are caused joy (*bast*) so that He may not leave you with sorrow (*qabd*), (thus you would come into "contraction"); and He takes you out of both of them (by passing away into Him) until you belong to none other than Himself. (135) Adepts, when they are made to rejoice (*bast*) are more afraid(*b*) than when they are made sorrowful (*qabd*), for in time of joy they do not engage in the ordinance of discipline (*hadd-adab*), except a few. (136) As for joy(*c*) (*bast*), the lower self (*nafs*) receives a share in it by obtaining pleasure (*hazz*); and as for sorrow (*qabd*), the lower self has no share in it.

(*b*) Fear of joy on the part of the adept is explained to be due to the fact that the evil in the lower self is more likely to overcome one when he is in a state of rejoicing.

(*c*) The commentator explains that, when "joy" comes, divine service requires that one recognize in it the evidence of favor and bounty from Allah, and not recognize in it anything of one's self.

(137) At times Allah bestows(pleasures) on you, but He is withholding from you. Then, sometimes He withholds them from you, but He is (in fact) bestowing upon you. When Allah opens to you the gates of knowledge in the withholding mentioned above, this withholding turns into the actual bestowing.

(138) Phenomenal things externally are a delusion (having no reality in them as regards their exterior), but internally have significance, (for it is a place of viewing the reality of the realities of independence and permanency for the Lord and a dwelling place and passing away for the servant). The lower self notices the exterior of their delusion, and the heart notices the interior of their significance. (139) If you desire for yourself the honor which does not pass away, you should not give honor (Arabic, "seek honor") with the honor which passes away.

(140) The real turning back(*a*) is that you should turn back the extent of the world from you until you see the hereafter nearer to you than yourself.

(*a*) The turning back of the extent of this world is only conceived of by the servant of Allah if the light of certainty shines upon his heart: at that moment the world is banished from his view, and passes away in relation to him.

(141) A gift from a creature is a withholding or refusing (*hirmān*),(*a*) and a refusal(*b*) from Allah is a benefit (or blessing).

(*a*) The Arabic word *hirmān* is translated by the Malay word *dinding* (screen), which is perhaps connected with the idea of concealing.

(*b*) There is a withholding because in the gift you see another than Allah, and you see yourself with all your parts and desires. A refusal from Allah is a benefit, for He makes it necessary for you to stand before His door.

(142) Our Lord is too great for His servant to deal with Him in "cash" (at once), so He will recompense him tardily (on credit). (143) It suffices in Allah's rewarding you for your obedience that He approves you as being worthy of it (the obedience). (144) There suffices as a reward for those who do good

works, that which He has revealed to their hearts in obedience to Him, and that which He brings to them of gaining familiarity with Him. (145) Whoever worships Allah for something which he hopes for from Him, (a) or in order to avert from himself by his obedience the coming of punishment from Him, does not carry out what is due to His attributes.

(a) Whoever worships Allah because of a reward values the reward more than he does Allah. Allah should be worshipped because of His beautiful attributes.

(146) When He is bounteous to you, He shows you His benevolence; and when He withholds His favour from you, (a) He shows you the quality of His severity (and majesty, greatness and excellence), (147) so, in this manner He makes Himself known to you, and is coming near to you by His kindness to you. (148) The withholding (by Allah) causes you pain only because in it you do not understand Allah.(b).

(a) The commentator urges that the servant make no distinction between Allah's granting and His refusing.

(b) No. 148 is omitted in the Hikam al-'Ata'iyah, and is given as above in the second translation known as the Hikam Saghir.

(149) At times the door of obedience is opened to you, and the door of acceptance(a) is not opened to you; and at times He decrees sin upon you, but that sin becomes a means of attaining to Him. (150) A disobedience(b) which entails humiliation and a sense of need (by which the servant goes out from himself and returns to his Lord), is much better than obedience(c) which entails honor and pride (and the servant goes out from the quality of divine service and claims lordship).

(a) See note (c) in connection with No. 126.

(b) When the servant commits sin, his sin bequeaths abasement and a sense of need, then is he near the Lord who has the attribute of forgiveness. When he is obedient, his obedience bequeaths honor and pride, then is he near the fire of hell.

(c) There is no blessing to be found in any obedience which involves that which destroys the qualities of divine service. It is reported that Sidi Abu Madin said, "The humility of the man who is disobedient is better than the pride of the man who obeys."

(151) There are two (divine) favors from which no existing thing escapes (*i.e.* they are common to all) and both of which everything created must have :—one (is called) the favor of being brought into existence, and the second (is called) the favor of help. (152) Favor was granted to you in the first case by (the favor of) being brought into existence, (for there was no existence originally for you), and secondly, by (the favor of) continued help, (if His help ceased for a moment you would be non-existent).

(153) Your need(a) for Allah is inherent (essential) in you, and the coming of all the causes (wealth and poverty) reminds you

(a) "Needs" is used as a translation of the Malay word *kehendak*, (purpose or desire), this being the word used as the equivalent of the Arabic word *faqat* (need or poverty).

of things hidden from you of your needs. (154) The inherent (essential) need can not be removed by accidents^(b) ('*arad*'),^(c) (but they increase it and establish it in themselves). (155) The best of all your "present states" (*d*) is that in which you see the existence of your need and you are caused to revert therein to your abasement.

(b) The accidents referred to are such as bringing into existence and continuous help. See No. 152.

(c) "'*Araā*". The world in the totality of its parts is a thing originated (*muhdath*) in that it consists of substances (*ayns* and attributes, or accidents ('*arads*'), These accidents are such qualities as motion, rest, and colors. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*. p. 309; 320.

(d) *Wagt* (present state), literally "time". This term is used by the Sūfīs to denote the spiritual state in which one finds himself.

(156) When He "sets you apart" (*a*) (*liarkan*) (causes you to withdraw) from created things, then you should know that He desires to open to you the gates of familiarity (*jinak*) with Himself; (157) and when He sets your tongue free to ask things (*b*) (of Him), then you should know that He desires to grant you (what you desire). (158) As for the adept, his need^(c) (for Allah) does not cease, and his permanent place (continuance) is not with any other than Allah.

(a) The Malay word *jinak* (tame) is used here correctly for familiarity (Arabic, *uns*), but the Malay word *liar* (wild), though it is the opposite of *jinak*, does not properly represent the meaning of the Arabic *awhasha*, (to be set apart, or put in a desert place, or uninhabited place, or cause to withdraw from the society of persons).

(b) A tradition is reported by Abdullah ibn 'Amr, that the Prophet said: "To whomsoever among you permission is given in prayer, to you the doors of grace are open, and no request to Allah gives Him joy like the asking for forgiveness and freedom (from evil) in this world and the hereafter."

(c) If you belong to the people of gnosis (*ma'rifat*) make your necessities perpetual, and let your aspirations seek Allah, your permanent place is with Allah, your death is in Allah, and your life is in Allah.

(159) Allah has illuminated all external things with the lights of His impressions (*āthār*) (*a*) and He has illuminated all mysteries by the lights of His attributes, and on that account all the lights of external things^(b) are hidden and the lights of hearts and mysteries are not hidden (do not disappear). (160) For that reason it is said "the sun of the day sets at night, but the sun of hearts does not disappear (set) (*ghaib*).

(a) Compare with Nos. 26, 57 and 101.

(b) The lights of external things disappear because they belong to (are connected with) the originated thing which passes away. The lights of the mysteries do not disappear because they belong to the prior (*qadīm*) which is eternal.

(161) May the pain of trouble (trials) be lightened by your knowledge that Allah is the One who sends down the troubles^(a)

(a) One who recognizes that his troubles come from Allah is close to the station of resignation and contentment.

(trials) upon you ; (162) for He from whom the appointed things (which you despise) were presented to you, is He who has caused you to choose well (the things you love). (163) Whoever imagines that the quality of his Lord's kindness ceases from the decreeing, does so because of his short-sightedness. (164) It is not feared for you that the ways of Allah should be obscure(b) to you, it is only feared for you what evil desire might overpower you.

(b) That the " ways of Allah should be obscured " means that the servant does not know if he is traveling on the way of thanksgiving, or on the way of patience with relation to the works which are outward or inward, for both are the ways of divine service.

(165) Most holy is the Lord who has concealed the secret of special appointment because of the manifestation of human qualities, and has manifested the greatness of the lordship in the manifestation of divine service.

(166) You should not seek from your Lord the cause of the delay(a) of your request to Him, but seek from yourself the cause of the delay of your good behaviour (*adab*), (for that is the character of divine service). (167) When He has made you outwardly to follow(b) His commands, and has granted you the inward yielding of yourself to the attribute of His compulsion, then He has enlarged His favor upon you.

(a) When you find that the thing you are seeking for is delayed, then you should accuse yourself of bad behaviour.

(b) The outward following and the inward yielding are the two works necessary to you if you desire to be established in the divine service of your Lord.

(168) Not every person who is sure of his special appointment (in gaining a state or a station) has perfected his purity (from things other than that).

(169) There is no one who makes light of the recitation (*wird*) except the ignorant people, for the advantage of the mystical experience (*wārid*) is gained in the world to come (on account of every recitation). The recitation passes away because this present world passes away, (for the recitation ceases when this world ceases, because in the hereafter there are no good works, thus the reward of it (devotional exercise or recitation) passes away with its passing). (170) The most important thing, attention to which is required, is that, the existence of which, is not replaced. (171) Thus, He requires (a) from you the recitation (*wird*), and the mystical experience (*wārid*) you seek from Him. There is a great difference in what He requires of you as compared with what you seek from Him.

(a) Allah requires of the servants that they should perform the duty of service. The recitation (*wird*) is an expression for that which comes to the servant as a gain from outward and inward service.

(172) The coming of help from Allah (in this world and the next) is according to your preparation (of good works), for the

rising of the lights (of certainty) is according to the purity of the inner qualities (from carnal desires which are connected with "others" and inclined toward all effects). (173) The heedless person early in the morning considers what he will do, and the intelligent person considers what Allah will do with him.

(174) All servants of Allah and ascetics are separate from everything (until they are alone at the summit, and they forsake all their people, their homes and their wealth) only because they are absent from Allah in everything; and if they behold Allah in everything (which they do and command) then they will not be separate from everything.

(175) Allah has ordered you in this world to observe all that He has made (so that you may be guided thereby to the existence of His unity), and moreover, He will open to you in the world to come the perfection of His divine essence. (176) (Since) He has known from you that you are not patient at your absence from Him (because the servant has no independence of his Lord), so He causes you to see that(a) which is manifest from Him.

(a) He causes you to see this so that you may understand all the attributes that are evident in Him; thus you may know that He is with you in all places.

(177) When it was known to Divine Reality that in you there existed a dislike (weariness in) for divine service, He varied for you the forms of obedience, (178) He knew what there is in you in the way of excessive eagerness (which leads to weariness), so He gave you intermission in it (obedience) in some of the "present states" (appointed times), (179) so that your aspiration might be to perform worship(a) (together with all its restrictions, stipulations and manners, both outwardly and inwardly), and not merely the fact of worship, for not everyone who worships is actually performing worship, (and not every one who does good works is actually performing them, for to perform worship is to become accustomed to being present with Allah constantly and being present with Allah is for the heart to become accustomed to constant contemplation.)

(a) Ibn 'Ata'a said; "To perform worship means to perform it with all its restrictions (*hadd*), and to perform all the mysteries of Allah is not to be moved by any mysteries other than those from Him.

(180) Worship is a cleansing of hearts(a) from the impurities of sins, and the opening of the door of all that is invisible, (181) for worship is the place of private converse (with Allah) and the mine (source) of all sincerity. (182) In it the arenas of mysteries are wide, and in it there shines the shining of the lights. (183) He has known the quality of weakness in you, so He reduced the number of them (the periods of worship from fifty to five), and He has

(a) There is no way leading to worship except after having cleansed the outward and inner parts from all defilement.

known your need of His bounty, so He increased the reward of them (by making one to be the same advantage as ten).

(184) When you sought a substitute (a) for good works ('amal) you were required to have sincerity in them, (185) and for those who are insincere (in good works) it is enough that they receive safety (which is their profit from His bounty and His goodness, which is His delivering them from the darkness of unbelief into the light of Islam).

(186) You should not seek a recompense for good works, which you do not really do. (187) It is sufficient reward for you for good works if there is One who receives them, (and this is the extreme of bounty and divine favor from Him to you.) (188) When Allah desired to manifest His bounty to you, (in this world and the next) He created and related them (good works) to you. (b)

(a) To seek a substitute is to negate truth and sincerity in religious exercises (good works) and to reduce the station of love.

(b) That is, He created obedience and assigned it to you, and in like manner with His great bounty toward you.

(189) There would be no end to the censuring of you if He should turn you over to yourself, and there is no ceasing in the praise to you if He reveals the attributes of His generosity to you.

(190) On the qualities of His lordship (deity) (His independence, glory, power, and authority) you should be dependent (as though you looked upon them, as if you held to them and not anything else); and with the qualities of your own divine service (of poverty, abasement, weakness and feebleness) you should be real (*mutahaqqaq*) (actually possessing them). (191) (For) He has prevented you from claiming that which does not belong to you of the possessions of all His creatures. Will He allow you, therefore, to claim His attributes, seeing He is the Lord of all the worlds?

(192) How can custom be broken for you (by opening all the mysteries of unseen things), since you do not break away yourself from your (evil) customs? (193) The thing (which is esteemed in breaking custom) is not that the request is made, but the thing is that you be supplied with good manners (by giving over everything to Him). (194) (For) nothing is required of you (from Allah, neither from anyone else) so much as the qualities of necessity (a) (*idtirār*, need), and nothing has hastened (Allah's) gifts to you so much as humiliation and dependence upon Him.

(a) The servant's necessity is that he must determine the attributes of his divine service, and on that account nothing greater than this is demanded of him.

(195) If it were not that you do not attain unto Allah except after the passing away of all your wickedness (a) and the blotting

(a) For that (wickedness) is an essential quality of yours and cannot be wiped out without your losing your existence.

out of all your claims, certainly you would never attain unto Him, (196) but whenever Allah desires to cause you to attain unto Him, He will cover your (evil) attributes by His (good) attributes, and cover your qualities (which pass away) with His qualities (which are permanent) (b). (197) For He causes you to attain unto Him by that which is from Him to you (of His favor and goodness), not by that which comes from you to Him (of knowledge, works and states).

(b) The commentator states that when this process is carried out the servant's existence is blotted out and he enters Allah's existence.

(198) If His gracious concealing did not come to you, then your good works would not be fit to be received by Him, (for to you there is no reality in them except by means of His grace and bounty). (199) (Thus) you are in greater need of Allah's patience when you are obedient(a) to Him than you are (in need) of His patience when you are disobedient to Him.

(200) The concealing(b) is of two varieties, *i.e.* concealment (a screening) from being disobedient; second, being concealed in (the act of) disobedience. (201) The common people seek for concealment from Allah in it (their disobedience) for they do not look at their Lord, and created things are great in their sight, for that which makes necessary for them this seeking is only that they fear that they will lose their standing before all men (for they love their praise and dislike their criticism, and are afraid of men and are not afraid of Allah).

(202) The elect people seek concealment from it (their disobedience; and they seek in this manner only because) they fear to lose their standing in the view of the King who is Reality. (203) Whoever honors you, is actually honoring the graciousness of Allah's concealment in you, (204) and so praise belongs to the one who conceals and screens you, and the praise does not belong to the one who honors and commends you.

(a) The writer states that one's obedience, together with his vision of himself and the magnifying of his good works and his pride, and such like necessitates wickedness.

(b) The first is a concealment between the servant and his disobedience, and no one knows of it except his Lord. The second is a concealment between the servant and other servants in the matter of dissimulation and distance. The first is for the elect people, and the second is for the common people.

(205) No one is a friend of yours with true friendship except while he knows very well your faults, and there is no one like that except your Lord who is very glorious. (206) The best (person) with whom you can be friendly is the one who will seek you, not because of anything which will come back from you to him, (and there is no one of that sort except your Lord).

(207) If the light of certainty(a) should arise, then you would see the hereafter too close to you for you to journey to it, and you

(a) It is stated that the light of certainty would indicate the knowledge that the hereafter is much better than this world, and that the things which belong to Allah are better and more permanent.

would surely see as to the good things of the present life that the eclipse of passing away has appeared upon them, (208) (for) you have not been veiled (from Allah) by the existence of anything existing together with Him, (since there is nothing in concomitance with Him), and that which veils(b) you from Allah is only your imagination that something exists together with Him.

(b) The writer states that the things which veil you from Allah are due to false suppositions (*wahm*), but when these (*wahm*) are lifted (taken away) then there is Allah, and there is nothing together with Him.

(209) If Divine Reality were not revealed in created things, then the experience of vision would not have come (neither upon the eyes of the heart, nor the eyes of the head). (210) If His attributes were manifested (to all hearts), then His created things would be wiped out. (211) Divine Reality has manifested everything, for He is the Inward (*bātin*); and He envelops the existence of everything, for He is the Outward (*zāhir*), (together with whom nothing can be manifested). (212) He has allowed you to observe that which is in created things, but permission has not been given for you to stop with created things themselves, (for they are all a veil); (213) and Allah said, " Say: consider what is in the seven spheres of the heavens and the seven spheres of the earth.(a) He has opened to you the door that leads to understanding, and He did not say to you, " Consider(b) the seven spheres of the heavens." lest He guide you to the existence of bodily things. (214) All phenomenal things (being as to their essence pure non-existence) are established by His establishing them, and are obliterated by the Oneness of His essence, (for everything has its beginning in Him and to Him it returns).

(a) Qur'an 10 ; 101.

(b) That is Allah has ordered the consideration of what is in His created things, but not the created things themselves, for such a method is far from Allah, because that is considering something other than Him, and such is not allowed.

(215) Men praise you(a) because of what they imagine is in you (in the matter of goodness and good works), but you should blame yourself because of that which you know to be in yourself (of what is evil and blamable). (216) A believer,(b) when he is praised, feels ashamed before Allah, that he should be praised with a quality which he does not see in himself, (217) and the most ignorant of mankind is he who abandons the certainty of that (sinfulness) which he has, for any supposition which men have (as to what appears in him of good works). (218) Whenever a person offers you praise, while you are not worthy to receive

(a) The Imam Ghazzali said, " They despise praise, for they fear a love of praise from Allah's creatures would make them odious to the Creator." Others say that whoever delights in praise Satan will enter his stomach.

(b) The writer states that the believer, who is a believer indeed, is he who does not look upon his qualities which are praiseworthy as being fit to be praised in him, and only considers such as being from his Lord.

praise, then you should give praise to Him in that of which He is worthy. (That is, praise to the Lord, who has covered up your faults; for if He had not covered your faults, then praise would not have come to you).

(219) Ascetics, when they are praised, become sorrowful (*qabd*), for they consider that praise is only from created beings (they are veiled from Divine Reality by created things); and adepts are happy (*bast*) when they are praised, for they consider that praise is from the Lord who is reality (Arabic, "king"), (they are veiled from created things by Divine Reality). (220) When you are such that whenever you are favored, the favor makes you happy (*baste*), (a) and whenever you are restrained the restraint makes you sorrowful (*qabd*), (a) then you should infer that you are in infancy, (that is, you are treated as an infant in the ranks of the Sūfis), and that you are not true in your service (to Allah), (for there still remains in it your lower self, and your good works are according to the desires thereof).

(a) See reference under Nos. 134 and 135.

(221) When sin occurs on your part, do not let that become a cause that you should give up hope of gaining steadfastness with your Lord. Sometimes such will be the last sin which has been decreed for you. (222) If you desire that the door of hope (a) (in Allah) be opened to you, then look at what comes from Him to you (of all His favors without a cause); and if you desire the door of grief (a) (*huzn*) to open to you, then look at what goes from you to Him (of all mean actions and evil manners). (223) At times you receive benefit (b) in the night of sorrow (*qabd*) from that from which you receive no benefit in the shining day of joy (*bast*); you do not know which one is closer to you as regards its benefits.

(a) The writer explains that if you desire that the two doors be opened to you, then look at each of His qualities and your qualities. In that manner you will see that you are worthy of each evil, and He of each bounty; so will be your hope and grief.

(b) Ibn Sandar said, "Concerning the benefit (*manfū'at*) of trust in Allah along with patience in sorrow, and fear of Allah along with thanksgiving during joy, we do not know which of these brings its benefits closer to us."

(224) The places at which appear the lights (from which hope and fear are produced) are the hearts and inner beings (*asrār*). (225) There is a light which He has placed in the hearts (from the day of Allah's saying, "Am I not your Lord?") (a) the help of which is from the light that comes from all the unseen treasures (which are from the meanings of the names and qualities of divinity, by means of which Allah indicates the people whom He desires), (226) and there is a light whereby is unveiled for you His "effects" (b) (*āthār*), and a light whereby is unveiled for you

(a) Qur'an 7; 171.

(b) When the effects are unveiled to you, then you are dependent upon things other than Him; and when all His qualities are unveiled to you, then you are dependent upon Him.

all His qualities. (227) At times all hearts stand still (make no progress) together with all lights, (they are veiled from that which illuminates), just as souls are veiled by the thickness (obscurity) of "others" (habits and desires). (228) The lights of the inner beings (*sara'ir*) (which are the effects (*āthār*) of gnosis and privilege (*khusūsīya*), Allah has covered by the thickness (obscurity) of external things (which are the effects (*āthār*) of human qualities) in order to preserve them,^(c) lest they may be made common by being manifested, and lest they may be called upon by the speech of notoriety.

(c) The Arabic text has "honor" in place of "preserve".

(229) Most holy is the Lord (*subhān*) who has not given a guide to His friends (*wali*), except it be a guide^(a) to Himself, (230) and Allah has only brought to them (these friends) those whom He wished to bring to Himself.

(a) As there is no guide to Divine Reality, except that which He has revealed, so there is no guide to His friends except that revealed from them. Shaykh al-Marsi said: "To know an adept (*'arif*) is more difficult then to recognize Allah. Allah is recognized by His perfection and beauty, but how shall you know a creature such as you?"

(231) At times He shows you His unseen kingdom (*'ālam malakūt*), (232) and veils you from the observation of the secrets of His servants (so that you can not recognize foe from friend, or the evil from the obedient), (233) (for) whoever is shown (knows) the secrets of his servants, while he is not equipped with the character of divine mercy, this knowledge of them is a menace (temptation), and is (therefore) a cause of drawing trouble to him.

(234) That which the soul gains in (the knowledge of) disobedience is external and apparent, and that which the soul gains in (the knowledge of) obedience is internal and secret; (235) and the healing of that which is secret is difficult to perform. (For it, *i.e.* the secret thing, stops at (comes short of) sincerity of purpose, and the purpose comes from the works of the heart, and it is very difficult to understand the works of the heart, and to heal them is still more difficult). (236) At times hypocrisy^(a) (*ria*) enters into you at a place where created beings do not take notice of you.

(a) Hypocrisy is very much concealed from them (the creatures) by means of the "whisperings" (temptation) of the lower self and of Satan,—we take refuge in Allah from such.

(237) Your care that created beings should know your special characteristics (of knowledge (*'ilm*), and pious good works, and sincerity in divine service) is a proof of your lack of sincerity (*sidq*) in divine service. (238) You should put away the creatures notice^(a) of you (for this notice has, or produces, no injury and no

(a) That is, you should not regard the creature's notice of you, but you should regard Allah's notice of you.

advantage) by means of Allah's notice of you, (for He notices both them and you), (239) and get away from (disregard) the manner in which creatures approach you, by seeing how Allah approaches you.

(240) Whoever is acquainted with Divine Reality will certainly see Him in everything (that acts and rules) ; (241) and whoever passes away in Him, will (disregard) get away from everything (else) ; (242) and whoever loves Him will not prefer anything else to Him (of his own intentions and desires).

(243) Divine Reality is veiled from you only by His extreme nearness to you. (244) He is veiled(*a*) because of the intensity of His manifestation ; (245) and He is hidden from sight only because of the greatness of His light(*b*).

(*a*) The reason for His being hidden is that nothing veils Him except His manifestations, which confuse, and so prevent our coming to Him.

(*b*) The writer uses the sun as an illustration of this point, the light of which is much brighter than all the lights experienced, and this brightness is that which veils from weak sight the finding (seeing) of its essence.

(246) Let not your request be a means of obtaining a gift from Him, for then your understanding of Him would be slight; (247) but let your request be to demonstrate the quality of divine service, (for that is the purpose of Allah for you), and to fulfill the rights of His lordship. (248) How can your request at the present time be a means of the divine favors at a previous time ?

(249) Too great is the decision made since eternity (*azal*) to be related to causes (*'ilat*), (for the causes are originated (*mubdath*), and the decision made since eternity is prior (*qadīm*). (250) His favor to you is not due to anything from you, and where were you when His favor confronted you and His care met with you ? (251) (For) in His eternity (*azal*) there was no sincerity of good works, and there was no existence of states; (252) rather there was nothing there but His pure bounty, (for which there is no cause), and (there was nothing there but) His great favor (to which there is no end and no separation).

(253) Divine Reality knew that His servants crave the manifestation of the secret of His favor (*sirr* "*ināyat*). So He said, "He especially favors with His mercy whom He will."(*a*) (254) And He knew that were He to leave them with that condition (without requiring good works) certainly they would omit good works, seeing that they rely upon eternity (*azal*). So He said ; "The mercy of Allah is nigh unto those who do well."(*b*)

(*a*) Qur'an 2 ; 99, 3 ; 67 (Palmer's translation).

(*b*) Qur'an 7 ; 54 (Palmer's translation).

(255) On the will of Allah everything depends, (*a*) and the will of Allah does not depend upon anything. (256) At times

(*a*) That is, everything depends upon the will of Allah, because nothing can exist except by Allah's will.

respect (good manners) leads them to omit the request (for some of the states (*waqt*)), in as much as they rely on His decree and are too busy with the mentioning of Him (*dhikr*) to ask(b) anything of Him.(c) (257) He alone is reminded (of this) to whom carelessness may be ascribed, and only he is warned from whom neglect is possible.

(b) The men of service (*ahl khidmat*), when they are established in passing away (*fana*), do not regard themselves in relation to their works, or their existence, for they are established in the station of divine service, and they look to the direction (or control) (*tadbir*) of Allah; for this reason they omit requests, since they hold to His decree, and are busy with the *dhikr*.

(c) A report from Abdullah bin al-Mabarak says, "I have not made a petition to Allah for a space of fifty years, and I have no desire to make a request of any one, for what went before is past."

(258) The coming of destitution is the feast days(a) of the devotees. (259) At times you find through the increase of destitution what you did not find during the times of fasting and worship. (260) These destitutions are the spreading out of the gifts of the Lord (which come upon your heart from the condition of grace). If you desire that these gifts should come upon you, then you should have true (or, make real) personal poverty and destitution in yourself. "Alms are only for the needy (*faqir*)."(b)

(a) The "feast days" is an expression for the periods which recur to mankind with rejoicing, and people differ in this. Some of them rejoice because of their lower self, and because they gain their evil appetites and fulfil their desires. This is the condition of the common people of Islām. Others of them rejoice on account of the absence in them of their lower self and the absence of any desires. This is the state of the Elect among the devotees.

(b) Qur'an 9; 60.

(261) You should make your attributes real (a fact), then He will help you with His attributes.

(262) You should make your lowliness real, then He will help you by His glory.

(263) You should make your inability real, then He will help you by His power, (until no one in existence will have power to stand up before you, if he tries to do so, he will certainly be destroyed at that time).

(264) You should make your weakness real, then He will help you by His might and strength.

(265) At times He supplies divine grace(a) (*karāmat*) to people who are not yet perfect in the steadfastness(b) (of their

(a) This word does not occur in the Qur'an, although *karīm* (generous) is very frequently used of Allah and His workings. In the devotional language of Islam it has come to mean the exhibition by Allah of His generosity, favour, protection or help towards anyone. In a special sense, the *karāmat* then comes to mean the miraculous gifts and graces with which Allah surrounds, protects and aids His saints. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Vol. II. p. 744.

(b) This is in order to strengthen certainty, and at times the divine grace is veiled from those who are perfect in their steadfastness (*istiqāmat*), so as to increase their fixity (*tamkīn*).

divine service). (266) One of the signs of Divine Reality placing you in anything (of the causal states and detachment from the world) is His continuing you therein, together with the gaining of the advantages of it.

(267) Whoever interprets (his entering the way of truth) as being from the wideness of his own well doing, (regarding himself as having performed good works, and having presented them without the help of Allah), his tongue will be made dumb by his wickedness with (before) his Lord ; (268) and, whoever interprets (his entering the right way) as being from the wideness of Allah's goodness to him, (and he gets away from seeing himself and good works which his Lord has given him while he is looking upon Him), then he is not made dumb when he does evil, (but it is made easy for his tongue to move in making a request from his Lord).

(269) The lights of the learned(a) (*hakamā*) precede their words, (for they do not speak except with Allah and for Allah), so when there is illumination (of these lights upon their hearts) there has come an interpretation (of all that they say). (270) (That is so because) every statement which comes forth has on it the clothing of the heart from which the statement comes forth, (271) and whoever is permitted to interpret (a statement), (b) his interpretation will be made understandable in the hearing of all creatures, and his comment will be made clear to them (*julliat ila'him*). (c) (272) At times divine realities issue forth with the lights concealed (Arabic, eclipsed), since permission has not been given to reveal them. (273) Their interpretations are either because of the overflow of ecstasy (*wijdān*), or for the intention of showing (the way) to some novice.

(274) The first is the state of the people of the Path(d) (*sālik*) (of the beginners, that is, those who travel from the abundance of their own selves to the presence of Reality) ; and the second is the state of those who are established, (who do not change the states) and the state of those who have confirmed reality (*muhaqqiq*).

(a) The learned (*hakamā*) are the ones who know Allah, because it is Allah with whom they are dealing (*mu'āmalat*) and the lights which belong to them are the lights of their gnosis, that is the strength of their certainty.

(b) The sign of the statement which is permitted is that it is understandable and acceptable. It does not need to be long, nor much, as distinguished from that which is not permitted.

(c) The Malay translation of the Arabic *julliat* is incorrect.

(d) The people of the Path (*sālik*) are those who have completed their confirmation of reality in the station of passing away (*mahām al-fanā*).

(275) How the interpretations (which are explained by the *muhaqqiq* mentioned above) are the food of the hearts of the needy (*faqīr*), who hear them, and you do not possess anything except what you eat. (276) At times a person interprets a station who has observed it, (though he has not reached it), and at times one who has arrived at it interprets it, and such is obscure, except to those who possess spiritual insight. (277) It is not fitting for the

people of the Path (*sālik*) to interpret mystical experiences that come to them, (but for the teacher it is fitting). The doing of this is one of the things which decrease the effect of these experiences in their hearts, and prevents the existence of sincerity with their Lord.

(278) Do not lift your hand to receive the gift (*a*) from creatures (with or without a reason from you), unless you see that the one who gives them to you is your Lord (who rules over you); and if it be so, you may take (it, but only) what agrees with your knowledge (of the conditions which would permit you to do so). (279) Sometimes adepts are ashamed to mention their need before their Lord, being satisfied with the will of their Lord; then why are they not ashamed to confess their need before His creatures?

(*a*) The writer explains these gifts as being Allah's sustenance (*rizq*) for His servants. Sustenance consists of two groups: First, sustenance which reaches them on account of good works. This is the state of the people of causes (*ahl al-asbāb*). Second, sustenance which reaches them from the hand of the creatures without good works. This is the state of those who are detached from the world (*ahl al-tayrīd*).

(*a*) The Ma'tazilites define *rizq* as "a possession which its possessor eats" and as "that from which one is not hindered from profitting." The orthodox define the term as a name for that which God sends to man and to the other animals and they eat it and profit by it. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 299.

(280) When two works are doubtful to you, (both of which are obligatory(*a*) (*wājib*), or both are traditional (according to the custom of the *sunna*), and you must perform one of the two), then you must investigate which of the two is more difficult (heavy) to the lower self, and you should follow it; for there is nothing difficult to it (the lower self), unless it is a duty. (This is the usual state of the lower self, except that which Allah protects by spiritual insight). (281) One of the signs of the person who follows his carnal nature is that he quickly performs all religious services which are traditional (or supererogatory), and he is slothful in carrying out obligatory(*b*) duties. (282) Allah has connected all acts of obedience (*ta'āl*) with specific periods (*a'yān al-awqāt*), so that procrastination (Arabic, *taswīf*)(*c*) may not hinder you from performing them (these acts of obedience), and He has extended the period for you so as to make permanent for you a measure of choice(*d*) (*ikhtiyār*). (283) Divine Reality knows how little His servants are alert in their dealings (*mu'āmalāt*) with Him; so He made obligatory to them the existence of obedience, (and arranged as regards obedience rewards and

(*a*) Duties which are *wājib* are these classed as necessary. When they are omitted punishment follows, when obeyed reward follows. Under the term *sunna* are classed those duties which result from the custom and usage of the Prophet. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology* p. 72, 74 ff.

(*b*) Some of the learned ones say that, whoever observes all the customs (*sunna*), rather than what is obligatory (*farḍ*) is deceived.

(*c*) The Malay translator has misunderstood the word (*taswīf*), giving the Malay word *chīta* (feeling) as its equivalent.

(*d*) The commentary gives as an example of choice the variations in the times of prayer.

punishments), and He drove them to it (obedience) by the chains which make obligatory. (284) Your Lord marvelled at the people who are driven (Arabic, dragged) into heaven by chains. He made obligatory to you the existence of obedience to Him, and He did not (actually) make obligatory to you anything, but to enter His heaven. (Heaven is made necessary by faith and not by works. It is reported that the Prophet said ; " No one will enter heaven on account of his good works ").

(285) Whoever says that he is far from being delivered by Allah from his lusts, and far from being released by Him from all his carelessness, that is as if he has weakened the power of his Lord, (and whoever reduces the power of his Lord is an unbeliever (*kāfir*), or almost an unbeliever) for in everything Allah is all powerful.

(286) At times there has come darkness (or carelessness and evil desires) upon you, in order to acquaint you with the value of that which He has granted to you. (287) Whoever does not know the value of divine favor by possessing it, certainly he will get to know it by the absence of it. (288) Do not let the coming of divine favors(a) surprise you (because of the amount that comes), so that you cease from performing your duties of thankfulness (to the One who gives the favor), for that is one of the things which diminishes your worth to your Lord. (That is what comes to pass because of your vision of yourself).

(a) Some of the adepts (*'arif*) were asking concerning praise ; they said that the reality of praise is to seek divine favor by seeking the One who gives the favor, and if you seek the favor only, then the favor veils from you Him who gives the favor.

(289) The continual attractiveness of the carnal nature(a) (*hawā*) in the heart (due to desires (*shahwat*) of the carnal nature and to disobedience to the principles of the law) is a sickness which all medicine can not get rid of (290) Desires (*shahwat*) can not be put out of the heart, except by fear which disturbs (the heart), or by longing which agitates (with which the heart can not be at rest). (291) Just as He (Allah) does not like good works which are shared(b) (because of turning to others in hypocrisy), in the same manner He does not like the heart which is shared (with the love of things other than Him). (292) Good works which are shared He will not receive, and a heart which is shared He will not approach.

(a) Some say that it is easier to scratch down a hill with the finger nails than it is to get rid of the passions (evil nature) once they have developed.

(b) Good works which are not sincere are like repentance in which there is no spirit (*rūh*), for people, when they have no spirit, die and their works are ended ; likewise good works without sincerity. They are not uplifted and the doors of heaven are not opened for them.

(293) (First). (a) Some lights are given permission to attain (the outer or visible heart ; they reach it, but they do not enter).

(a) The first requires faith and the second requires certainty.

(Secondly). (a) Some lights are permitted to enter (within the heart). (294) At times there come to you the lights (from Allah, in order to reach the heart, or enter the heart), then they find the heart filled with all forms of "effects" (from the desires of the lower nature); they go away to the place from which they came down, (and they go back the way they came, for they are pure and can not accept the place because of its foulness due to uncleanness). (295) You should clear your heart of everything other (than Allah, and cleanse out therefrom all kinds of "effects" (*ālhār*) by driving them away and clothe it with the opposites), then He will fill it with all gnosis and mysteries. (296) (Thus) you should not say that gifts from Him are delayed, (to do so is a sign of your satisfaction with your lower self) but you should say that the delay is from yourself in (your coming before Him).

(a) The first requires faith and the second requires certainty.

(297) (You should know that all duties (*haqq*) are of two kinds; first, duties in the spiritual states (*waqt*); second, duties of the spiritual states, as the teacher says,—) There are duties in the spiritual states which can be substituted (or compensated for, when they are omitted from worship, fasting and alms, and such like, of all the duties that Allah has made necessary to you), and there are duties of the spiritual states which can not be compensated for (when they are omitted, for they follow each other in rapid succession); (298) for there is no spiritual state which comes, (even a breath) but in it there is laid upon you a new duty to Allah, (that is the duty of praise to Him for the issue of the breath), and some work which is very definite, (which is required by the spiritual state); (299) so how can you repay in that state the duty of another state, since you did not repay your duty to Allah in that state? (That is, establish divine service as a duty). (300) (If you know that) the part of your life (a) which has passed can not be substituted (heedlessness of it is not proper), and (when you know that) what results to you in your life is priceless, (certainly you should (spend) all your time in thankfulness for what is gained).

(a) The servant's life is a field for his pious service (good works) which bring him to Allah and which necessitate for him great rewards in the world to come.

(301) You do not like anything without becoming a servant to it, (for you do not get to employ yourself except in that which He intends) and your Lord does not like you to become a servant of anything other than Himself. (Whoever loves the world, truly (he) is the servant of the world, and whoever loves Allah (he is the servant of Allah). (302) Your obedience does not cause any gain for Allah, and your disobedience does not cause Him any damage. (303) (Thus) He has ordered you this (to be obedient) and has restrained you from that (being disobedient) only because of that advantage which it repays to you. (304) His glory is not increased by the presence of those who present themselves before Him, and

His glory is not diminished by the turning away (turning their backs) of those who run from Him, (for His attributes do not change, even as His essence does not change, and His glory is one of His attributes).

(305) Your attaining(a) to Allah is your attaining to a knowledge of Him. (306) And if it were not so, then your Lord is too great that anything should be said to attain union with Him, or that He should have union with anything (for union and separation are some of the attributes of an originated thing). (307) Your proximity(b) to Him is in that you behold His proximity, (as is fitting with His glorious greatness), and if such is not the case, what becomes of you, and the matter of His proximity? (for you are the servant and He is the Lord and distinction between the servant and the Lord is the same as that between what is defective in every way and what is perfect in every way. When considering proximity and distance, both of them come back to you, then accordingly when you face toward created things, then you are far away; and when you face toward reality, then you are close to Him).

(a) Attaining to Allah is what is alluded to by the people of the Path; that is, attaining to a true knowledge of Allah, and this is the end of the way for the people who are still on the journey.

(b) The Shaykh Buny said that proximity is of three kinds; First, *qurb al-'āmmat*, the proximity of the common people by good works, faith and resignation (*taslīm*); second, *qurb al-khāssat*, the proximity of the elect by the proximity of attributes; third, *qurb Khawāss al-khawāss*, the proximity of the elect of the elect before the presence of the Exalted Essence by disappearing from all phenomenal things.

(308) Divine realities (*haqā'iq*) (which are profitable in recognizing Allah and in coming close to Him) recur at the time of their revelation in an unintelligible state (from an explanation not being granted), and after they are retained in the heart there occurs the explanation (of their meanings, as Allah has said to His prophet) "When we read it, then follow its reading. And again it is for us to explain it."(a)

(a) Qur'an 75; 18-19. (Palmer's translation).

(309) When the divine mystical experiences come to you, they will destroy evil manners in you, (as Allah has said), "Kings, when they enter a city, despoil it."(a) (that is, the state of the country will be changed). (310) The mystical experiences come from the presence of the Lord who overcomes, (that is, who is harsh) on that account nothing attacks it that does not affect the brain and destroy it, (as Allah has said), "Nay, we hurl the truth against falsehood, and it crashes into it, and lo! it vanishes," (b) (being destroyed by it).

(a) Qur'an 27; 34 (Palmer's translation)

(b) Qur'an 21; 18 (Palmer's translation)

(311) How can Divine Reality be veiled by anything, since in that by which He would be veiled He is evident, and He exists

and is present with it ? (Because of His severity, His being veiled by anything is not valid, for He looks upon everything in its existence and its proximity).

(312) You should not despair because of good works not accepted, in which you did not find your heart to be present (with Allah). At times good works are accepted, the fruit of which you have not quickly received.

(313) You should not make pure(a) (Arabic, *tuzakkiyanna*), (b) commend too highly, or overestimate) a mystical experience of which you do not know the fruit (of reliance upon Allah and turning away from things other than Him, and being far from disobedience to Him and follow obedience to Him). It is not needed of the cloud that it should rain(c), (for sometimes the existence of it (rain) causes damage) only that which is needed is to obtain the fruit of the trees (*buah kayu*). (314) You should not seek for the continuation of the mystical experiences after their illuminations are diffused and their secrets are deposited. There is for you in Allah independence of everything, (of illumination and knowledge, of good works and states, of stations and mystical experiences, and reality, and this world and the world to come, and pleasures and other things of that kind. You should not look for any of these), and nothing makes you independent of Him.

(a) That is you should not exalt the mystical experience, and do not believe that it is a grace (*karāmat*) from Allah until you recognize its fruits as produced from the results of the heart, and all the blamable qualities are replaced by the praiseworthy qualities.

(b) This meaning of the Arabic word *tuzakkiyanna* is given in the Arabic commentaries, but it is not to be found in the dictionaries.

(c) This is the metaphor; the mystical experience is likened to a cloud, and that which results is like the rain which comes down from it, and the good works required is its fruit. A mystical experience which gives no results is like a cloud without rain, and to give results without good works is like rain without fruits.

(315) Your yearning for (Arabic, *tatallu'*) the continuance of things other than Him is that which shows that you have not found Him, (for if you had found Him, then you would have been satisfied with Him rather than, or more than, with others). (316) Your isolation(a) because of the lack of things other than Him is that which shows your failure to attain to (union with) Him, (and if you do not attain to Him, it will satisfy you to have familiarity (*jinak*) with Him rather than isolation from others).

(a) Compare with note under Nos. 156 and 174.

(317) As for pleasure, even though it is manifested in a variety of places, it is pleasure only because of seeing Him and being close to Him. (For every pleasure other than beholding the Beloved is virtually non-existent, and health other than nearness to Him is virtually pain); and as for suffering, even though the places of its manifestation are varied, it is only suffering because of His being veiled; (318) so the cause of suffering is the existence

of the veil, (a) and the perfection of pleasure is by looking upon the face of Allah (which is glorious above the face of others in His majesty in the world to come). (319) Whatever of aspirations and sorrows is experienced by hearts (when one does not achieve one's aims and one's customs change), such a condition is caused by what they have been denied of beholding (the existence of Him who did it (*al-fā'il*)). (320) Part of what brings the perfection of pleasure upon you is the granting unto you that which is sufficient for you (the work of religion and your world, so that you will be free, or have leisure, from everything else other than that, and He will fill you with His illuminations) and the denying to you that which makes you rebellious (in your aspirations for things other than Him). (321) Let there be little in which you have joy, and then there will be little over which you will be sad.

(a) If there is no veil then the suffering is not genuine, and the pleasure is not perfected except by seeing the One who gives the pleasure.

(322) If you wish that you should not be deposed from your authority, then you should not assume authority which is not permanent for you. (No earthly authority is permanent, thus if you are not deposed from it during your life time, then you will certainly be deposed at the time of your death). (323) If the beginnings (of the authority of this world) give you pleasure, then their conclusions will cause you to renounce it (*zahada*), (for it will soon disappear and come to an end); if outward things invite you to it, (because you appear to gain an advantage therefrom) certainly inward things will repel you from it (seeing that its work tends towards evil ways). (324) Divine Reality has made it (the authority of this world) to be a place for "others" (*aghyār*), and the place of mining (source) for the existence of trouble, so as to make you renounce it for yourself. (325) Allah know that you would not receive advice (a) at all, so He made you to taste a part of the tasting of it, which make it easy for you to separate (b) from it.

(a) His action towards you in this matter is like the action of a father with his child who plays with a snake without knowing that it is poisonous, and does not receive the information which its father gives.

(b) The advantage of renunciation (*zuhd*) in this (authority) is deliverance from its troubles, and rest from its labors, and there is leisure (time) for divine service.

(326) The knowledge which is useful (a) is that, (kind) the light of which, is diffused in the heart (it opens up the reality of this world and the world to come), and it opens the veil of the heart (which prevents the understanding). (327) The best knowledge

(a) Shaykh al-Mahdawī said; "The knowledge which is useful is to know what makes the heart pure, and to know the renunciation of the world, and to know what draws one near to heaven, and keeps away from hell, and causes fear of Allah and trust in Him, and understands all destruction of self and His holiness.

(a) Mālik said that knowledge, in many traditions, is the light which Allah has placed in the heart.

is that which is accompanied by fear(*b*) (for fear comes only by understanding the attributes of Allah). (328) If knowledge(*c*) is accompanied by fear of Allah, then it is your possession (its rewards and its recompense and the gaining of benefits along with it), and if not, then it is against you (its sins and its sufferings).

(*b*) Knowledge which requires fear on your part is that through which you gain advantage in this world and the world to come, and there is nothing similar to it except that which we have mentioned, and knowledge which does not require fear on your part is that through which you seek help. This is the difference between those who have the knowledge of the hereafter and those who have the knowledge of this world ; that is, those who have the knowledge of the hereafter have the qualities of fear, and those who have the knowledge of this world have the qualities of peace of mind and honor.

(*c*) The Shaykh Abū al Hasan says that, whoever does not enter into this knowledge ; that is, the knowledge of Sūfīsm, certainly he will die making his great sin permanent, though he does not know it. The sign of having fear of Allah is in forsaking all that strengthens these four things ; the world, created things, the lower self and Satan.

(329) Whenever you are pained by the failure of created beings to present themselves before you (bringing you kindness, praise and respect), or by their coming to you and blaming you, then you should return to Allah's knowledge concerning you. (330) If (in so doing) Allah's knowledge of you does not satisfy you, then your misfortune is the absence of satisfaction in His knowledge is much more serious than is your misfortune in being pained by them (created beings, when they pain you ; for when they pain you they injure your body, and your not being satisfied with the knowledge of Allah extinguishes the light of your heart). (331) Allah brought upon you pain at their hands only in order that you might not rely upon them. (332) (At that time) Allah intended to disturb you from everything (by making something troublesome for you) so that there should be nothing that could divert(*a*) you from Him.

(*a*) You should return to Him in everything, either by asking help in warding off misfortunes, or by fleeing from people to Allah ; that is, outwardly a favor and inwardly a favor, and the meaning of favor is in separating you from all "others", so that you may not be diverted to anything else from Divine Reality in this world. He has tried all His beloved by service, so that they do not have rest in any other than Him.

(333) Since you already know that Satan is not neglectful of you, you should not be neglectful of Him who controls you and Satan by His power (that is the Lord of all created things, by continually mentioning Him and following His commands, and by keeping far from things He forbids, and making divine service real before Him, and submitting to Him.) (334) Allah made Satan to be your enemy, (so that by him He could drive you to Himself) and He aroused against you the lower self (of all passions) so that you may present yourself to Him continually.(*a*)

(*a*) The story comes from Abū Sa'id al-Khadri, "I heard the Apostle of Allah say that the Devil said to his Lord ; 'I will continue to make the children of Adam rebellious as long as they have a spirit in their bodies.' Allah said ; 'I will continue to forgive them as long as they ask forgiveness of Me.'"

(335) Whoever decides for himself that he will humble himself, he is a person who actually exalts himself ; for there is no one who humbles himself except he who sees himself to be eminent. Whenever you determine to humble yourself, then you are a person who is exalting himself. (336) People are not considered as humbling themselves who, when they humble themselves, think themselves to be above what they have done (meaning that it is not proper for them to do such things, for therein they see themselves as of a higher rank) ; but those who humble themselves are those who, when they have humbled themselves, think themselves inferior to what they have done (that is, in their coming short in what they have done). (337) True humility is that which comes from beholding the greatness of the Lord and the manifestation of His attributes, (as one sees the perfection of Divine Reality, and then everything also besides Him diminishes. (338) Nothing will deliver you from beholding the attributes (which are base and carnal), except your beholding the attributes (which are glorious and divine).

(339) The believer is he who is too much concerned about giving praise to Allah to be thankful for himself, (for he sees that his Lord is worthy of praise), and who is too much concerned with his duty to Allah to be one who remembers his own gain.

(340) He who really loves is not the person who hopes to gain a reward for his good works from Him whom he loves or who seeks from Him a recompense (by desiring the vision of Him, for real love accepts with the love of the heart the excellence of the one loved, until nothing remains therein for another). (341) The person who really loves is the one who gives to you (gives his life for the one he loves^(a), since he believes the gift is small) ; he to whom a gift is given is not reckoned to be the one who loves. (When he does good works he believes that his works are very numerous). If it were not for the arenas (battle fields) of souls (that is, its desires and pleasures), certainly the way of all those who travel would not be a reality. (342) There is no distance^(b) (interval) between you and Him until your way^(c) passes through

(a) This statement is found only in the Malay text, and does not appear in the Arabic (Rondi) text, nor in the Arabic of the Hikam Saghir text.

(b) For Divine Reality is not in any direction, nor in any place. Both of these are impossible in Divine Reality, for Divine Reality is closer to you than they (direction and place). Your only veil is from yourself. When you have done away with all the arenas of your lower self, and have destroyed the habits of its character, then the lamp of your insight will shine with the light of certainty, which will rend all veils. Then, by the light of reality, you will gaze upon Divine Reality, and there is nothing that will veil you from Him.

(c) The Shaykh Abū al Hassan al Harāqi, said that the way to Allah consists in four things ; First, *takwa'*, fear of Allah and His truth. You depart from the things which pertain to yourself and return to the things which pertain to Allah. Second, you behold that which occurs to you and to others from Allah. You should not come to Him with resistance, for you are resigned to the knowledge of Allah, since He understands better the things that exist. Third, turn to your present state and do not be concerned with that which

it, and there is no space between you and Him until it is effected by your attaining to Him (d).

is past, nor with things yet to come. Fourth, you should look upon Allah as a treasury from which to gain your necessities of life—externally your work and inwardly your knowledge.

(d) The sign that the seeker has arrived at this honored station is that all states are the same to him, and no impression is made upon him inwardly by anything which comes to him from the evil of all actions and sayings, for his heart is gazing upon the presence of the Perfect One.

(343) Allah has made you to be in the middle world, between the *'alam al-mulk* ; (that is the world of sense and the world of experience) and the *'alam al-malakūt* ; (that is the unseen and hidden world, and such was not done for you except) to inform you how great is your lot (or, your value) among all His created things, and that you are a pearl enclosed in your two parts (of the shell) which He has created—(the sky overshadows you and the earth upholds you). (344) The phenomenal world enlarged you in the matter of your body (for that is hemmed in by the causes which are dependent on the phenomenal world), and the phenomenal world has not enlarged you in the matter of the fixity of your soul, (for it is not right that it (the soul) should be dependent on anything but the Lord). (345) He who is in the phenomenal world, and to whom all the arenas (battle fields) of the invisible have not been opened (that is, the wide vision which is connected with the inward essence), is imprisoned by all that surrounds him (which is the sensual part of eating, drinking, cohabitation and such like of all created things), and he is enclosed in the mass of his bodily essence, (which requires a seeking after all that he desires). (246) You accompany (are accessory to) the phenomenal world (by being bound to it) as long as you do not behold the one who created it. For when you behold Him (who created it), then all the phenomenal world is necessary to you, (for at that time you are independent of it and do not have any regard for it(a)).

(a) The sign thereof is that you despise all phenomenal things, and that you are independent of them, or that they are severe upon you, and that you do not turn to them. These two are as two men ; one is a prince (*wali*), and the second is a *Sūfi*. The prince is the man who possesses for himself everything he desires, and the *Sūfi* is the one whose heart is compelled to be satisfied with whatever he does.

(347) The non-existence of human attributes does not necessarily follow from the continuance of the special gifts (*khusūsiya*) (among all His beloved, consisting of the manifestation of His great attributes, and their being clothed with holy attributes). (348) The special gifts (*khusūsiya*) (of gnosis and such like, that are manifested in the servant) are for example like the rising of the sun; at dawn it appears on the horizon, but it does not belong to the horizon. (Special gifts are manifested to the servant, but do not belong to the servant). (349) Sometimes the sun of His attributes illuminates the night of your dark existence (your

attributes become invisible through what He has clothed upon you of His attributes, for they appear in what He has lavished upon you from Him, then you become thereby honored, strong, independent and authoritative as is fitting for you); and sometimes He has taken that from you and He brings you back to your origin (in the matter of lowliness, poverty, weakness and feebleness), so the dawn (which is used as a metaphor) is not of you, or to you, but it has come upon you (so that He might inform you of the existence of the Lord who rules over you in the matter of things which He grants you).

(350) He has shown by the existence of His effects (*āthār*) the existence of His names, (His names are created behind the veil of effects (*āthār*)) and by the existence of His names He has shown the permanence of His attributes, and by the permanence of His attributes He has shown the existence of His essence, for it is impossible for the attributes to stand by themselves. (351) To the people of ecstasy (*arbāb al-jadhb*) Allah has opened the perfection of His essence (before anything else, they see that absolute (*mutlak*) existence has no existence in any other, they know Him because of what belongs to Him of all the qualities of perfection); afterwards they were turned to looking upon His attributes, (then they see that they themselves did not recognize the essence, but His attributes, for they had not reached the reality of essence, nor obtained it); after that they were turned back to connection with all His names (they see that they themselves did not recognize the attributes, but it is His names that show forth His attributes). After that they are turned to looking upon His effects. (They see that they themselves did not recognize Allah in His reality, but rather the effects).

(352) And the "journeyers" (a) (*sālik*)(b) are the opposite of the "attracted" (*majdhūb*), (even if the journeyers attain, they attain to Divine Reality by created things). The end of the journeyers is the beginning of the attracted, and the beginning of the journeyers is the end of the attracted. These people, if they come together (agree) in one sense, yet both have not the same meaning, (for the attracted attain to the effects without confirmation, and as to the journeyers, it is out of the effects that they seek the way).

(a) The condition of the journeyers is that they see something with Allah, and they say, "We did not see anything except that we saw Him with it." The condition of the attracted is that they see something for Allah, and they say, "We did not see anything, except that we see Allah first."

(b) "Those who preferred orderly progress under definite laws are *sāliks*, 'journeyers', while those who embarked without restraint on the broad sea of their feeling of God's drawing them and attracting them to Himself were *majdhūbs*, 'attracted'". Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 258.

(353) At times they both meet in the same way (for the place in which they travel is the same, and their aim is the same), the "attracted" in going down (from Reality to the law, and from the

Effector to the effects), the "journeyers" in going up (from created things to Reality, and from effects to the Effector).

(354) The measure, or value of the lights of the hearts and mysteries is not known except in the unseen world (that is, world of the hereafter, whoever believes in the unseen will certainly indicate its reality in the reality of gnosis); just as the lights of the sky (that is, the shining of the sun and shining of the moon) do not appear except for this world. (355) The gathering of the fruits of obedience (with their sweetness and pleasant flavour) is now (in this world); the good news to those who perform good works as to gaining a reward thereby comes in the hereafter (for our generous Lord, when He has started it, will certainly complete it, and His grace will be granted. (356) (You should put away your aspirations for seeking a recompense for your good works from your Lord). How should you seek for a recompense for good works, since it is He who bestows them on you? (Because you need them in this world and in your religion, and if it were not for His bounty and His help it would not be so easy for you), or how can you seek for a reward for your sincerity since He has granted it unto you?

(357) There is one group (*qaum*) whose lights precede their *dhikr* (they are the "attracted", and the people of favour (*al'anayāl*) who are very great, who consider that before everything was the existence of their Lord); and there is another group (*qaum*) whose *dhikr* precedes their lights. (They are the "journeyers" and the people of the way, who are very honorable). (358) The people who recite the *dhikr* are of two sorts); one man recites the *dhikr* in order that his heart may be illuminated, (his *dhikr* is the cause of his light); the second is the man who recites the *dhikr* and always has his heart illuminated, (and he recites the *dhikr* according to the light which is from his Lord) (*a*). (359) For there is no outward *dhikr* except it comes from the inward beholding and reflecting.

(*a*) Under number 358 there is a difference in the Arabic text, and also other groups are mentioned besides these two.

(360) He has shown you (the perfection of His essence in the unseen) before asking you to testify (that He is your Lord, at the time He said, "Am I not your Lord?"), and so at that time outward things confessed His divinity, and hearts and secrets confirmed His unity. (361) He has honored you with three honors: First, He has made you to be a reciter of the *dhikr*(*a*) to Him, (for He has caused the *dhikr* to Him to be performed on your tongue) and if it were not for His favour, you would not be fit to perform the *dhikr* to Him. Second, He made you to be mentioned by Him (He is called your Lord and you His servant; He it is who

(*a*) The Shaykh Ibn 'Arabi said; "When the novices forget their *dhikr* for one breath, then Satan is with them, for Satan spies upon them. So when forgetfulness enters the heart, then he (Satan) enters, but when the *dhikr* enters certainly he will depart."

orders you and you are ordered ; and He is the one mentioned and you are the one who mentions ; and behold, all His favors are granted to you) for He confirmed His relation to you. Third, He has made you to be one mentioned with Him, (for He said, "Remember Me, then, and I will remember you." (b) Thus He perfects His bounty upon you.

(b) Qur'an 2 ; 147 (Palmer's translation).

(362) (Know that all servants are in two groups in relation to their age). Some lives are long and of little advantage (*fa'idah*), (like the age of some of the men of Israel, for there was one who lived for 1,000 years, and he was of no more benefit to his people than those who had short lives) ; and some lives are for a very short period, but their advantage is very great ; (as for example, the lives of those whose usefulness Allah extended : more than all His people ; they attained the bounty of Allah in a moment). (363) Whoever is given a blessing in his lifetime, receives during a short period of time some of the favors of Allah which do not come under the spheres (*dā'irah*) of explanation, and with which there is not connected any indication (because of their amount and greatness).

(364) The most helpless condition of all is that you should be free, or have leisure, from everything that occupies you, and then you should not come to His presence (with sincerity of intention until He opens to you that to which your aspirations do not reach), or that the work which hinders you should be very little (namely, that which is caused by the lower self, such as evil desires, anger and wicked disposition, which is classed with the bodily (*jusmaniya*) qualities), and yet you do not go to Him (from the realms of your lower self).

(365) Meditation (a) is the heart's movement in arenas of "others" (other than Divine Reality, until you see the passing away of everything, for your Lord is eternal, and distinguishes, all your states from that granted unto you). (366) Meditation is the lamp of the heart (which shows the realities of things), so when it ceases, there is nothing that will illuminate the heart. (On this account it is mentioned in a tradition that meditation for one hour is better than divine service for seventy years). (367) Meditation (as to its essence and its connections) is of two kinds ; one meditation is that which results from verifying and believing, (which leads to the understanding of this world and the world to come, and of the lower self and its deceit, and Satan and his wiles) ; the second meditation is that which results from beholding and perceiving (that is, meditation on the attributes of Divine Reality and on His essence being free from defects, as is fitting for His essence). (368) The first meditation is for those who accept interpretation (*arbāb al-'itibār*), (among the people of the journey

(a) Meditation improves that which is good, and makes worse that which is evil, and establishes that which is real. You should meditate in that manner.

and the novices, since they progress by seeking guidance from effects to the Effector) ; The second meditation is for those who possess vision and have insight, (among the people who behold Divine Reality, with a falling away of all effects. These are the ones who behold Reality, and who recognize it, and see the reality of Truth. They travel among His creatures at one time by the light of reality, and another time by the light of truth).

MUHAMMADAN MYSTICISM IN SUMATRA.

(a) Introduction.

The first reference to Muhammadanism in Sumatra appears to have been made in 1292 A.D. by the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who mentions, in the records of his travels, the spread of Islam in Ferlac (*i.e.* Perlak, Aceh, in North Sumatra), a name well known from Malay chronicles. Since the old Muhammadan tombstones in Aceh have been deciphered, it has been ascertained that the founder of the Muslim kingdom of Samudra Pasari, on the north west coast of Sumatra, died in 1297 A.D. So it is unlikely that the conversion of the country to the faith of Islam took place between 1270 and 1275, as some have assumed.

The introduction of Islam into Sumatra was not carried on by Arab preachers, but rather by Arab traders in the early centuries of the Hidjra. As early as the eighth century A.D. Arab traders were found in China in large numbers. Thus it is quite possible that they established commercial settlements on some of the islands along the West Coast of Sumatra. Along with the introduction of orthodox Islam into Sumatra there came, at about the same time, a type of heretical mysticism which still continues to exercise considerable influence over men's minds, in spite of the influence originating from Arabia. Numerous written documents indicate that this mysticism was brought into Sumatra by the pioneers of Islam from Hindustan. The most important works on mysticism in use were prepared by Indian writers, or else were derived from a body of mystics which flourished in Medina in the 17th century and which was strongly subjected to Indian influence. To this body belonged Ahmad Qushāshī of Medina, whose disciples became the teachers of the devout Muslims in Javanese and Malay speaking countries, Chief among these teachers was Shaikh Abdurra'ūf of Singkel, the great Muslim saint of Aceh, now better known by the name of Teungku di Kuala, since his grave, a sacred shrine, is located at the mouth (*kuala*) of the Aceh River. His best known work is the '*Umdat al-Muhtājīn*', which consists of seven chapters descriptive of a certain kind of mysticism, of which the *dhiḥr* forms a conspicuous part. In the conclusion of the work 'Abdurra'ūf makes himself known to the reader, giving a short account of his life as a scholar, together with a *silsilah* (spiritual genealogical tree) to confirm the noble origin and high worth of his teaching. He studied for many years in Medina, Mecca, Jiddah, Mokha, etc. at the feet of no less than fifteen masters. Above all others he esteemed and praised the teacher Ahmad Qushāshī at Medina, whom he called his spiritual guide and teacher. 'Abdurra'ūf received a letter from Molla Ibrahim, the successor of Ahmad Qushāshī, permitting him to open a school of his own, which he did upon his return to Aceh in 1661 A.D.

The fascination which mysticism holds for the Muslims in the Dutch East Indies is largely due to the fact that it pertains to the twilight in which Islam, for the most part, is hidden from the common people. To them it seems to harmonize with the many strange and mysterious things in Islam, as for example : the Arabic language, foreign dress, the hajji, etc., etc. Their interest in mysticism is also an evidence of a reaction from the over tension of Islam's stern idea of God. Man's longing for union with God bursts the barriers of orthodox doctrine, which holds that communion with God is blasphemy. Yet mysticism does not lead to communion with God in the Christian sense. Mysticism does away with the individuality of man ; God and man become one. Substance but not personalities can be co-mingled ; this distinction forms the essential condition for communion.

In the Dutch East Indies every Muslim teacher of any note tries to give instruction in mysticism, because only by so doing can he get any real hold on the people. It is well recognized that teachers of mysticism have more influence over the people than do the teachers in the Muhammadan universities. Many professors become members of mystical orders so that their reputation may be improved on that account.

In Sumatra, as well as in some of the other islands of the Dutch East Indies, there are some teachers of mysticism who have become so advanced that they say it is no longer necessary to pray aloud ; for them the secret prayer of the heart is sufficient. This may be regarded as a mystical reaction from the externality of the idea of God and his worship.

These mystical orders are not without political influence in the countries where they thrive. For example in Sumatra the Bataks say that repeating the *dhikr* when counting the rosary teaches them how to fight, to cross the ocean, march over hill and dale and conquer their enemies, so that some day they may be able to make war on the unbelievers.

These mystical orders continue to spread in the Dutch East Indies so that one is led to believe that many Muslims hope that mysticism will once more work a reformation in their political life. Dr. G. Simon thinks this means worse bondage to their religious leaders, and a more complete blending of eschatological aspirations and mystical political tendencies.* However, it will be evident from this study of the subject that the present liberal movement in Sūfiism in Sumatra is in the direction of a moral and social reform, rather than political.

(b) Non-orthodox and Heretical Types of Mysticism.

The various forms of heretical mysticism found fertile soil in Sumatra, and, had it not been for the persecution carried out by the princes at the instigation of the orthodox Muslims, the heretical types would have spread much more widely.

* *The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra* by Gottfried Simon, p. 153.

At the first the heretical types held in common with the orthodox teachers that the essence and object of religion is man's communion with his Maker ; and that ritual, law and doctrine are necessary in order to accomplish that end. But the unorthodox leaders soon forsook this accepted way and claimed that other means than that mentioned above would also lead to the desired end, and that those who lived in communion with Allah here on the earth are raised to some extent above the ritual and the law. Many of them conceive communion with Allah to be so complete that the distinction between the creature and the Creator is lost sight of.

This form of pantheistic mysticism is set forth by some authors in the form of a philosophy, while the most popular group describe it in mystical formulae and in sundry comparisons, based on a play on words and numbers. For example, they look upon the ever recurring number "four" as a demonstration of the unity of the whole of God's creation. It is, therefore, the task of mysticism to awaken in man the consciousness of this unity, so that he may identify himself with Allah, and with the Universal. Some mystics go so far as to say that this complete consciousness of the universal unity is in itself a universal prayer which does away with the necessity for the five daily devotional exercises of ordinary men. Others will go so far as to brand as a servant of many gods one who continues to offer up his prayers, or to testify that there is no God but Allah, since he who truly comprehends the Unity, knows that "there is no receiver of prayer and no offerer thereof"; for the One cannot pray to or worship itself.

Among the early mystics who are held in high repute in Sumatra the name of Ahmad Rifā'i (d. 1182 A.D.) deserves to be mentioned. He was the founder of the wide-spread order known as the *Rifā'iyyah*, which afterwards split into a number of subdivisions. The story of his life furnishes abundant proof of his piety and wisdom and also of spiritual gifts (*karamat*) which he exercised through Allah's help, yet we can find nothing which can bridge over the gulf which separates him from all but juggling performances which bear his name, even though the connection can be traced.

Not only in the *Rifā'ite*, but also in other mystical orders, instances are quoted from their own traditions concerning members of the fraternity who have attained a high degree of perfection in mysticism. These have, by the help of divine grace, suffered no hurt from acts, which under ordinary circumstances result in sickness or in death ; as for example the eating of fragments of glass, biting off the heads of snakes, wounding themselves with knives, throwing themselves under the feet of horses, all these and other acts have proved harmless to the successors of the founder of these orders, and they too have been given the power to endow their true disciples with invulnerability.

While many such stories must certainly be dismissed under the heading of pious fiction, yet there are instances where the condition of high strung transport into which these darwishes work themselves by wakeful nights, fasting, and exhausting exercises, do actually result in temporary and local insensibility to pain.

For centuries past certain sections of these orders which possess such mystic powers have made a sort of trade out of the practice of these arts. The members of the order meet at a fixed time under the guidance of their teacher and proceed to the recitation of *dhikrs*, accompanied by certain movements of the body which tend to produce giddiness, and thus they finally fall into ecstasy which cause them to perform without fear the dangerous tricks mentioned above. Should one of them fall a victim to his hardihood, it is ascribed to the weakness of his faith; should he wound himself slightly a little spittle from the mouth of the teacher, with an incantation of the name of the founder of the order, suffices to insure his recovery.

When the gathering of darwishes takes place in public, and especially at religious feasts, frequently some of the on-lookers become infected with the frenzy of the performers and voluntarily join in the hazardous game. This sudden participation is ascribed to the mystic influence of the founder of the order.

These public performances at times degenerate into mere theatrical representations, where nothing but the name and a few formalities recall their connection with mysticism. Indeed the most celebrated of these orders has been thus corrupted. The orthodox conception is that while it is wrong to cast any doubt on the possibility of the existence of such phenomena, and while certain chosen mystics have indeed shown by such means how close was their walk with Allah, these modern performances, although bearing sacred names, are really empty, if not profane counterfeits. (Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, p. 250).

As a general rule it may be said that the Muhammadans of Sumatra desire to follow the orthodox way, and that the heterodox elements in the creed of the common people are embraced by them in ignorance and good faith, and rapidly disappear under the influence of orthodox teaching. The orthodox Shattāriya mysticism introduced in Acheh in the 17th century now subsists in only a few narrow circles of devotees. The Naqshbandiyah and the Qādiriya orders have never really taken root in North Sumatra, although a few adherents of these orders are to be found in many parts of the island.

As the influence of Muhammadan teaching increased in Sumatra, as well as in other parts of the Dutch East Indies, the teachers of Sūfiism soon found groups of natives who proved willing disciples of this interesting doctrine. There has been very little development in the field of higher mysticism, nor is

there a scholastic system of mysticism in the Dutch East Indies, yet mystic ceremonies are found in all parts of the country. The form it assumes is that of a more or less practical mysticism, which the common people regard as the supreme expression of piety.

This mystical teaching has proved to be not the possession of a few of the educated upper class, but of many of the lower class of natives as well. Devout Muslim Bataks in Sumatra like to close their daily prayers with a little mystical exercise. The worshipper sits upon the ground, his hands lying upon his knees in such a manner that the tips of his fingers do not stick out over his knees (otherwise the Prophet will cut them off). The worshipper keeps in this position without moving while the Prophet enters his soul; or the worshipper will be told to shut his eyes after he has finished his prayers and stop his ears, then his soul communes with Muhammad and Ali. From these two persons he receives the power to work miracles, to rise to eminence and to obtain wealth.

The natives of these islands love the mysterious and the fantastic. Practices which they can only partially understand are a welcome substitute for the animistic ceremonies which Islam has taken away from them.

Mystical exercises are also performed by the help of the rosary of 100 beads, which represent the name of Allah and his 99 attributes, or beautiful names. This string of beads is passed ten times between the first and second fingers, with each bead one of the attributes of Allah must be repeated, or simply remembered, so that in this manner Allah's name is invoked 1,000 times. The exercise opens with litanies in which there are obvious traces of mysticism. The opening prayer is as follows:—

Pure is the garment,
Pure the body,
Pure the place of prayer, (1)
Sitting in the left unison of the heart,
Turned toward the West, (2)
The heart of hearts in view,
One in perception with the teacher, (3)
Help me to obey Thy law /
May God slay me in the All Holy,
In the true faith, in pure Islam, (4)
Lord God, admit me to Glory."

(1) External purity is the primary condition for communion with Allah.

(2) To enter into communion with Allah, man withdraws into his inmost soul, to the place where the heart beats fall in unison; motionless he "sits" towards the West, facing towards the Holy City Mecca.

(3) Although lost in contemplation of himself, his inmost soul, so that his immediate gaze is upon the representative of Allah within him.

(4) This means the complete transportation of oneself out of this world, i.e. ecstasy. Man's ego is no longer there, he must be "dead" to the world (the teacher impresses this upon the novice) and only concern himself with Allah. It should also be noted that the meaning of "Islam" is "resignation"

All rosary prayers culminate in the thought of the abnegation of the ego and the contemplation of the vision of Allah. The earth, they say, vanishes from the worshipper's sight, it becomes as small as a coin which he holds in his right hand, and then the soul is one with Allah. (5)

Some of the Muhammadans on the West Coast of Sumatra conduct a religious exercise which they call the "*kasidah*" (Qasid, poems, songs) which, in some respects, resembles the exercise performed by the help of the rosary. The *kasidah* ceremony is performed by a group of people coming together, usually in some home, to sing praises unto the Lord and Muhammad. In this service a variety of tunes are used; e.g. Egyptian, Syrian, Eastern and Western. The leaders of the *kasidah* are usually those who have had some training in singing and who possess good voices, most of them being young men of the neighbourhood.

When a child is circumcised the *kasidah* singers are called. It is thought that their service provides additional protection for the child. If two *kasidah* performers are called they should be seated at the ends of the line of participants, or in the corners of the room. The leaders sing alternately, and usually in a very shrill voice. For example, one will sing an Egyptian tune and the other one will sing a Western tune. At other times they may sit close to each other and sing alternately the tunes they know best. The women, young and old, sit in a row in such a position as to hear the song, but at the same time they must not be where the men can see them, for such would be considered improper (*harām*) during such a ceremony.

The *kasidah* ceremony usually continues until midnight. At the close of the meeting one of the older men offers a prayer for a blessing on the people. As a rule the owner of the house does not prepare food for such an occasion, but offers his guests coffee only. At the conclusion of the ceremony the owner of the house gives an offering to the singers which the people regard as alms. The amount given is usually about two guilders for each singer. Before the money is handed out it is neatly wrapped in paper so that the guests may not see how much is given.

Until a few decades ago the teaching of the Naqshbandi Order (*tariqah*) exercised a very strong influence in spreading non-orthodox *Sūfī* teaching and practices in Sumatra. The teaching of this order is set forth in a treatise written in Malay and published in Cairo. This book is known as the "*Fathu'l 'Arifin*". The following will give some idea of the doctrine with which this treatise is concerned:—(1)

(5) See "The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra" p. 146 by Dr. Gottfried Simon.

(1) See *Moslem World*, October 1930. Article by Dr. W. G. Shellabear "An Exposure of Counterfeiters".

The author stresses the value of certain set prayers and the use of the *dhikr*. The pupil has set for him a certain prayer formula for each day of the week which he is to use as a *dhikr*. This formula is to be repeated 4,000 times daily. According to the manner of the Naqshbandi Order the *dhikr* is to be performed quietly while holding the breath. Thus the pupil feels that he brings the expression "Allah, Allah" into his heart. The Qādiriyyah Order, whose teaching is also set forth in the above-mentioned treatise, performs the *dhikr* in a loud voice, either standing or sitting.

The author of the *Fathu'l 'Arifin* teaches that man is equipped with ten subtilities (*latā'if*),—five of which are called the "World of Command" ('*Alamu'l-amr*) that is the heart, spirit, inner heart, secret and the most secret, (*qalb, rūh, sirr, khafi* and *akhfā*). The other five are called the "World of Creation" ('*Alamu'l-Khalq*); the subtilty of the soul (*nafs*) and the four elements; water, air, earth and fire.

They believe that the subtilty of the heart is below the left breast, two fingers breadth to the left, and that its color is yellow, and it is the seat of the authority of our lord Adam, and its origin is water, air and earth. The subtilty of the spirit is below the right breast, two fingers breadth to the right, its color is red, and it is the seat of the authority of our lords Abraham and Noah, and its seat of origin is fire. The subtilty of the inner heart is located opposite the left breast, two fingers breadth towards the chest, its color is white, it is the seat of the authority of our lord Moses and its origin is water. The subtilty of the secret is opposite the right breast, two fingers breadth towards the chest, its color is green, it is the seat of the authority of our lord 'Isa (Jesus), and its origin is air. The subtilty of the most secret is located in the middle of the chest, its color is black, it is the seat of the authority of our lord Muhammad, and its origin is earth. The subtilty of the soul (brain) is located in the forehead and the whole head.

The people of this order also say that in the way of approach to Allah the following three things are necessary: (1) the secret *dhikr*, i.e. the mentioning of "Allah" in the heart which has been cleared of all anxiety; (2) *Murāqabah* (spiritual communion); (3) Producing the form of the teacher (*shaiikh*) who causes the results and ecstatic union (*tawajjuh*) or, (to make available service with the teacher which gives form to union and association).

These *Murāqabah* are said to be of twenty kinds:

(1) *Murāqabah ahadīyah*, directing the heart towards the essence of our Lord who has the attribute of perfection and unlimited praise.

(2) *Murāqabah ma'īyah*, directing the heart towards God who is with us in all our parts (the five senses).

(3) *Murāqabah aqrabīyah*, directing the heart towards the essence of God who is closer to us than the jugular vein, closer

than seeing, closer than smelling, closer than the sense of taste, closer than the thoughts of the heart, closer than memory,—but only Allah knows the condition of this proximity.

(4) *Murāqabah mahabbah fī'd-Dāirati'l-Ūlā* (communion of love in the first mystic circle), directing the heart towards the essence of God who loves us and whom we love.

(5) *Murāqabatu'l-Mahabbah fī'd-Dāirati'th-Thānī* (communion of love in the second mystic circle) directing the heart towards the essence of the God of mutual love in the second circle) while we see that he has all the qualities which are ideas (*ma'āniya*, and those which are derived from ideas (*ma'nawīya*).

(6) *Murāqabatu'l-Mahabbah fī'l Qaus* (communion of love in the bow) directing the heart towards the God of mutual love in the half circle.

(7) *Murāqabah Wilāyati'l-'Ulyā* (communion of the spiritual power of the highest) directing the heart towards the essence of God who gives the spiritual power of the highest.

(8) *Murāqabah Kamālātī'n-Nubūwah* (communion of the perfections of the Prophethip) directing the heart towards the essence of our God who made the perfection of all the prophets, and who made even (*meratakan*) the law for them.

(9) *Murāqabah Kamālātī'r-Risālah* (communion of the perfection of the apostleship) directing the heart towards the essence of our God who made the perfection of the apostles.

(10) *Murāqabah kamālāt Uli'l-'Asm* (communion of the perfections of the possessors of determination) directing the heart towards the essence of our God who made the perfections of the possessors of determination from the perfection of the prophets and the perfection of the apostles.

(11) *Murāqabatu'l-Muhabbah fī Dā'irati'l Khullah* (communion of love in the mystic circle of friendship) contemplating God in the station of love, directing the heart towards the essence of our God who made the reality of our Lord Abraham and took him as his beloved.

(12) *Murāqabah Dā'irati'l-Mahabbati's Sirfah* (communion of the mystic circle of pure love) which is the reality of our Lord Moses, directing the heart towards the essence of our God who gave his love to our lord Moses as pure love. Such is the explanation of the collection of the ten *latā'if*.

(13) *Murāqabatu'l-Mumtazijah bi'l-Mahabbah* (communion which is mixed with love) which is the reality of Muhammad, directing the heart towards the essence of our God who made the reality of Muhammad of original love mixed with his love.

(14) *Murāqabatu'l Mahbūbiyati's Sirfah* (communion of the beloved which is pure) which is the reality of Ahmad directing the heart towards the essence of our God, who made the reality of Ahmad of pure love.

(15) *Murāqabatul-Hubbi's Sirf* (communion of pure loving) directing the heart towards the essence of our God who gave pure love to his servants.

(16) *Murāqabah lā ta'ayana* (communion—he is not manifest) contemplating the essence of our God who is not manifest to created things: even the nearest angels, the prophets or apostles. There is no one who understands God but God alone.

(17) *Murāqabah Haqīqati'l-Ka'bah* (communion of the reality of the Ka'bah) directing the heart towards the essence of our God who made the Ka'bah as a place for all to worship.

(18) *Murāqabah Haqīqati'l-Qur'ān* (communion of the reality of the Qur'an) directing the heart towards the essence of our God who made the reality of the Qur'an which was sent down to our lord Muhammad and which becomes worship (adoration) on the part of those who read it.

(19) *Murāqabah Haqīqati'a-Salāt* (communion of the reality of worship) directing the heart towards the essence of our God who made the reality of worship.

The Origin of *Latā'if*. The following notes in regard to the *Latā'if* which are mentioned above as being taught by the Naqshbandi teachers are taken from "Studies in Tasawwuf" by Khaja Khan, B.A., Madras, 1923, the same being reported by Dr. W. G. Shellabear in his article "An Exposure of Counterfeiters" which was published in the Moslem World, October 1930 :—

"Shaikh Ahmad, the Mujaddid of the eleventh century, has, according to the progress of his *sālik* in the upward course, seen different colors at different stages. He—a Naqshbandi mystic—is the discoverer of six positions in that part of man's body between the neck and the navel, which he has called the six subtilties (*Latā'if sittā*) one encircling the other, much after the manner of the *Kundalini* (the circles) of Patanjali. The color of *qalb* is yellow; of soul, red; of *sirr*, white; of *khafi*, black; and of *akhfā*, green. It may be noted that these stages are according to the stages given in the doubtful *ḥadīth* mentioned in the *Ihyā' Ul'ūmi d-Din* of Ghazzali, namely, that in the body of man there is a lump of flesh; in this lump there is *qalb* or mind; in mind, reason; in reason, *fuwād*; in *fuwād* there is *khafi*; and in *khafi* there is "I". (On pages 81 and 171 of this book the Arabic text of this tradition is quoted, but the two quotations do not agree). Some say that the color of the *nafs* is blue, and of *rūh* ochre. When the *nafs* entirely disappears, whiteness overshadows. The color of the soul often becomes green, the last stage is colorlessness, everything disappears, leaving the *sālik* in a state of *fanā*, the transcendental wonder spoken of by Tennyson, which the *Sūfis* call *'Alam-i-Hayrat*. The color of the cloth, specially the headdress, is indicative of the stage of the pilgrim's journey, e.g. if this cloth is of ochre color, it means that his *sulūk* has reached the stage of *rūh*."

On page 189 of the same book the author gives the location of the six *latā'if*—*nafs*, *qalb*, *rūh*, *sirr*, *khafi*, *akhfā*, and then adds: "The *faqirs* of the Naqshbandi Order and the followers of Shaikh Ahmad of Shirhind practise on these points; other *Sūfis* have no faith in them."

On page 171, in his definition of the term *Ananiyat* (ego of God), he says: "The *ananiyat* of *abd* is the *ananiyat* of God in limitation. (Then after quoting the *ḥadīth* mentioned above). The *ananiyat* is thus hidden under seven sheaths, *akhfā*, *khafi*, *sirr*, *rūh*, *fuwād*, *muzga*, and *jasad*. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhind has located his six subtilties (*latā'if*) thus: *akhfā* in the head-plate, *khafi* in the forehead, *rūh* in the right side, *qalb* in the left, *sirr* above the navel, and *nafs* in the navel."

(20) *Murāqabah Dā'irati'l Ma'būdīyati's-Sirfa* (communion of the mystic circle of him who is worshipped) directing the heart towards the essence of our God to whom belongs the worship of all his creatures, and he granted worship to all phenomenal things.

In "Les Confreries Religieuses Musulmanes," MM. Depont and Coppolani give the chain of *shaikhs* following Naqshbandi as follows, on page 523 :—

" Chah-Naqechabend-Beha-ed-Din.
 Mohammed-el-Bokhari-A'lah-ed-Din-el-A'ttar.
 Ya'coub-el-Djarkhi-el-A'sari.
 Khaouadja-Ahrar-Obeid-Allah-es-Samarqandi.
 Mohammed-ez-Zahaid.
 Ed-Derouich-Mohammed.
 Khaouadjaqi-es-Samarqandi-el-Amkani.
 Mohammed-el-Farouqi-es-Serahendi, etc."

From this it appears that Khaja Khan's "Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind or Sirhind" was the eighth successor from Naqshbandi.

1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

THE SULUK CEREMONY.

Doubtless the best known of the Muhammadan mystical ceremonies in Sumatra is the *Suluk*. This ceremony is calculated to show that the one participating has reached a place of utmost devotion to Allah, and that, having completed the ceremony, he is entitled to occupy a place apart from the ordinary man and enjoys certain powers and privileges which others do not. While instruction in the *suluk* is given in all the Muhammadan centers throughout the island of Sumatra, yet there are certain variations which are noted in the regulations governing the ceremony in Aceh as compared with those used in West and East Sumatra. The popularity of the *suluk* is limited to the more backward centers of population and to the more conservative groups. The younger and better educated Muslims do not regard the practice as illustrative of true Muhammadan mysticism.

Usually those who practise the *suluk* are among the older people of the community.—those who are dissatisfied with their lot in life and are out of sympathy with worldly things. They take up this ceremony as a method of escape, and at the same time they believe that they will obtain special favor from the Lord. The person who intends to perform the *suluk* must take with him one bolt of white cloth and several guilders which he gives to his teacher. (Such payment is especially common practice in the West Coast of Sumatra). The pupil must also promise his teacher, usually on oath, the following: (1) perfect obedience to all that the teacher says, even though such may seem wrong to the pupil, (2) unconditional faith in the teacher's words, (3) faithful performance of all religious duties forever, (4) secrecy as to the contents of the ceremony. The pupil must also give a positive confession of faith as a preliminary. In the West Coast of Sumatra if a woman wishes to perform this exercise she must have a woman teacher; however, in Aceh the teachers are men only. In that part of the country the woman must spend a night alone with the *Malim** (teacher, having first taken an oath that she will not reveal to anyone her experiences during that night).

The exercise begins with the novice being led into a dark room where he is treated as a corpse. He is washed and wrapped in a white cloth. The teacher reads the prayers for the dead, and then the novice sits in an attitude of meditation and repeats a *dhikr* slowly. Because of his concentration on the *dhikr* he forgets to eat and drink. In case he gets too drowsy he may sleep where he sits as he is far away from anybody else and does not leave this place except at the call of nature. He may eat about 300 grams of rice seasoned with a bit of salt. It is not supposed that this will satisfy his hunger, but simply provide a bit of nourishment. One plate of rice brought to the mosque would be sufficient

*Arabic — *mu'allim*.

for ten persons engaged in performing the *sulūk*. Thus they continue with the *dhikr* and fasting until they have attained their objective. Those who are courageous and zealous in their devotion continue for as long as three days and nights without eating or drinking. It is reported that in Aceh the ceremony is continued for seven days before the novice is allowed to take food. Those who find the trial too severe usually ask permission to return home on the second day, while others may hold out until the end of the third day.

The initial stage of the *sulūk* ceremony is the repetition of the *dhikr*, of which there are four varieties :—

- (1) Dhikr salī-salī.*
- (2) Dhikr Nawshbandiyyah.
- (3) Dhikr Shari'at.
- (4) Dhikr ma'rifat.

When one seeks instruction in this form of the *dhikr* the teacher advises him that he must concentrate his mind upon the work which he is about to perform. He must put away all thoughts of his wife and family and of his possessions. He must think of nothing else but his teacher and himself. This instruction begins at night, the pupil having been given a white curtain under which he is to sleep. As soon as the teacher has given him a drink of holy water (*air tawajjuh persumpahan*), declaring that he must be faithful to the teacher and to the religion of Islam, then the pupil is ordered to go to sleep. While he is sleeping he must lie in such a position that will allow his head to point in the direction of the *kiblah* (Mecca), with his left hand above his right. At daybreak the pupil arises, performs his ablutions and worships, then sits down facing the *kiblah* and says the following :—

" Oh Allah, my Lord, complete good works in me.

Oh Allah, my Lord, grant that I may be strong to fulfil your commands.

Oh Allah, my Lord, grant me strength so that I may recognize what you forbid.

Oh Allah, my Lord, bury (*matikan*) me in pure Islam.

Oh Allah, my Lord, bury me in perfect faith.

Oh Allah, my Lord, grant good works on behalf of my teacher.

Oh Allah, my Lord, grant that my teacher may have strength to fulfil your commands.

Oh Allah, my Lord, grant that strength may be given to my teacher so that he may be able to recognize what you forbid.

*This variety of the *dhikr* is known as the "*dhikr salia*" in Sumatra. It seems that *salia* is a corruption of the Arabic word "*salī*", meaning "strength" or "power".

In Sumatra the *dhikr ma'rifat* is considered to be the form which contains the hidden teaching of Islam and is, therefore the most important of all the *dhikrs*.

Oh Allah, my Lord, bury my teacher in pure Islam.

Oh Allah, my Lord, bury my teacher in perfect faith."

(At this point he repeats the *Fātihah*—the first Sura of the Qur'an.)

Berniat. The pupil considers himself as dead. He is bathed and a burial service is held over him. He surrenders himself to the spirit of the Naqshbandiyyah, whereupon his teacher, in his complete wisdom (*ma'rifatnya yang putus*) enters the person of the pupil, entering through the spiritual heart into the pineapple-shaped (physical) heart (*hati-sanubari*). Then the pupil is caused to center his thoughts on Allah and the *hati sanubari* is opened. Then he offers a prayer of thanksgiving.

"*Illahi anta maksūdī, wa ridaka mallūbī*".* *Repeated three times*).

"Oh Allah, my Lord, thou art my objective, there is no Lord but Thee." (*Repeated three times*)

"Oh Allah, my Lord, thou art the One for whom I seek. There is no Lord but Thee". (*Repeated three times*).

"Oh Allah, my Lord, I seek thy contentment (*karedlaanmu*). There is no other Lord but Thee". (*Repeated three times*).

The novice then counts the rosary while he says "Allah, Allah", five thousand times. While he is repeating the name of Allah he must say in his heart: "the divine essence has nothing by which it may be illustrated or compared". While saying this he must hold his breath.

As the *sulūk* ceremony progresses the novice will see visions of frightful experiences which are about to overtake him; sometimes one will see a flood coming in which he will certainly be drowned, or he will see a tiger coming to tear him in pieces, or a great snake which is about to wrap itself about his neck. During this trial no moan or cry may pass his lips no matter what terror, evil spirit, or wild animal may appear before him. While these experiences are but hallucinations yet few pupils can endure the strain involved. When he gets the sensation of a snake wrapping itself about his neck he frequently runs home. Among ten persons who begin the *sulūk* ceremony it is quite likely that not more than one will carry it through to the conclusion, but he who endures to the end is endowed with great magic powers. To him who overcomes, prophets and angels appear in the second week to instruct him in all the magic arts as long as he cares to listen.

Then finally the great experience comes. The novice is worn out with fasting and prayer, his senses are bewildered with his thoughts and aspirations and the terrible visions of the past few days. In this condition he awaits the coming of the saints. His senses leave him and the prophets and Muhammad then take

*The divine nature is my intention and Thy pleasure is my desire."

possession of his soul ; his body lies like a corpse and with his last gasp the novice murmurs once more the *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, and then Allah himself actually descends from His throne and takes up his abode in the heart of the seeker. The mystic has now attained the highest state of holiness within the reach of man while on this earth. He has beheld the Almighty within himself. All things now lie at his feet and he can even become a prophet. He is happy here on this earth, for who can withstand him ?

When one has kept the *sulūk* some months (in certain parts of the country the period of probation is one year), then the teacher takes notice of the faithful and such are given a letter which testifies that he has really performed the exercise. He may also receive certain memory verses and prayers which are necessary to lead him into the life to come. Such persons upon the completion of the *sulūk* are regarded as holy men by their teachers. However, only a few are able to endure the ordeal and still fewer can pay enough to satisfy the teacher (shaikh).

If during this time of testing the pupil becomes frightened and runs screaming away, the benefit of the *sulūk* is lost and he may go insane. Some people say that, when under such a circumstance, a pupil loses his mind it is an evidence that he has failed to pay the teacher a sufficient sum for his instruction and hence the teacher casts a spell over him. At any time during the course of the instruction when these visions come to the pupil the teacher should say, "*ashhadu anna lā ilāha illā 'llāh*", once or twice so that the pupil may come through the test successfully and win the knowledge of invisibility.

In addition to the tests mentioned above the pupil will also see a variety of colors. It is understood that these colors indicate the presence of certain spirits or certain ones of the prophets. As for example :—black indicated the presence of *Malak al-Maut* (the angel of death) ; yellow indicates the presence of the Devil, Satan, *jinn*, or spirits ; green indicates the presence of the prophet Abraham ; pale green (*hijau-kuning*) indicates the presence of Moses or Idris (Enoch) ; red indicates the presence of Gabriel, and grey indicates the presence of Jesus. The pupil should also meet Muhammad during the course of the exercise. Should he fail to meet him then his *suluk* is of little value. However, the possibility of meeting Muhammad is supposed to depend upon the luck (*nasīb*) of the pupil. In case his *nasīb* is good he will meet with Muhammad during the early part of the ceremony.

Some people who are unable to complete the *sulūk* go to the *tempat ulakan*, a shrine (*kramat*) some 15 kilometers from Priaman on the West Coast of Sumatra where they follow a certain form of prayer and fasting. At this place there is a grave of a saint known as Shaikh Bahaudin. It is said that this shaikh sailed from Mecca to Priaman on a rug of palm leaves (*tikar pandan*). When he entered the village of Priaman he saw the people playing a game with the *kemiri* fruit (a hard ball-shaped fruit like the nutmeg).

A person would stand about four meters distant from a hole in the ground, then he would try to roll the *kemiri* fruit into the hole. After Shaikh Bahaudin had watched them play for some time he asked permission to join them after having made his desire known by the use of signs since he could not speak their language. Before he attempted to roll the ball into the hole he repeated the *bismi* (*Bi'smi'llahi.....*) then every ball he rolled went straight into the hole. The people were much surprised at this and commenced to learn the *bismi*. Those who committed it to memory could always win when playing the *kemiri* game. On this account the people had great faith in the Shaikh, they learned his religion and became faithful Muslims. Thus, it is reported, that after this manner the religion of Islam spread from the village of Priaman throughout all the country of the Manangkabaus.

THE RĀTIB CEREMONY.

A form of worship which is frequently followed in Sumatra and highly valued on account of its mystical significance is known as the "*rātib*". This form of worship consists mainly in the continuous repetition of *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*.

There are two kinds of *rātib*—the ordinary *rātib* and the *rātib tubin*. This latter form is considered to have special value in warding off misfortune. The ordinary *rātib* is usually performed during the celebration of a *kenduri* (a religious feast originally held once a year at which prayers for the dead are offered, but it is now used to celebrate any particular event in the family life of a Muslim). In case a small *kenduri* is being celebrated it is not necessary to call women from another village to assist in preparing the food. As soon as the food is ready a teacher or a *hajji*, or anyone else who is able to pray in Arabic, is called in along with some ten men of the village. In case there is sufficient food a larger number may be called. It is necessary that several men should be present so as to insure there being a sufficient number to give the response (*āmīn*) during the repetition of the prayers, or they may join in the repetition of that part of the prayers which the public is expected to repeat.

When the teacher has taken his position at the end of the group, or on the edge of the circle, the person on whose behalf the *kenduri* is being held speaks to the people thus assembled while at the same time he burns incense. The substance of what he says is as follows: "My purpose in inviting you here is that we may pray to the Lord Almighty who has provided me and my household with a sufficient supply of the necessities of life, therefore I pray for a blessing upon my household and that the spirits of those in the graves may be given ample space (*dilapangkan*), and also I ask that a *dhikr* may be repeated some hundreds of times so that the Lord will grant the prayer which I offer to him and his Apostle".

As soon as the man of the house has finished his remarks the leader answers: "We understand your desire and we shall ask our Prophet Muhammad and our Lord, who is all powerful both in heaven and on earth, that the Lord will bless your household, give you long life, make your food cheap, that your good works (*'amal*)* may increase and that Allah will make wide the resting-place of all the spirits in the graves". Thereupon the leader begins to repeat the *bismi* and verse one to six of the first sura of the Qur'an. This is followed by the *'arsh*** verse until the end. Then the group seated in a semi-circle round the leader draw in closer until their shoulders touch, after which the whole

*When used in connection with religion '*amal*' (work) refers to the acts which one performs in the process of worship.

**Qur'an 2; 256.

group begins to sway to the left and then to the right shouting the *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, louder and louder. The bystanders beat time with their feet to increase the solemnity of the exercise. Most of the lamps are extinguished. Finally the noise and the constant motion produces its effect upon the participants, they seem to go mad as they fall into ecstasy. In some districts a *rātib* takes place three times during the month of fasting as a substitute, they say, for reading the Qur'an in three parts.

After completing the *dhikr* they wash out their mouths (*sembur*). Then they pray while each person holds his two hands up in front of his face and rubs them together. Following this they repeat the *tawbat* (a prayer for forgiveness), then the ceremony is closed with a short prayer by the leader.

At the conclusion of the prayer the food is brought forth and served by the young people of the household, or by the friends of the man in whose house the service was held.

The *rātib* which is used to ward off sickness is usually performed during the period when cholera or small-pox is in the neighbourhood. If during such a performance the lights are extinguished the exercise is known as the *rātib tubin* (*tubin*, i.e. forgetting all material things, lost in the divine).

In case there is an epidemic of cholera or small-pox in the community the teacher or *khalīfahs* in each local mosque call some of the people together. At this meeting money is collected with which to purchase two and a half yards of white cloth and oil lamps made of tin. The cloth is cut into ten or twelve strips. Each of these strips serves as a banner and is tied to a bamboo pole one and a half meters in length. The tin lamps are also attached to the end of the bamboo poles of the same length so that the lamps may be raised high enough to give better illumination. Then they prepare tins or plates which are filled with rice and benzoin (incense). At about 8 o'clock in the evening the village people gather at the local mosque at which time one of the elders says, "Now that all the requirements for warding off disease are ready, those of you who can spare the time should unite with us in prayer to the Lord that he may keep from us cholera, small-pox and such like diseases, and in marching round the village to collect a contribution (alms) to meet the expense involved in preparing this *rātib*".

After having made the above statement and having burned some incense they repeat the *rātib* one hundred times or more. While repeating this *rātib*, or *dhikr*, the lamps in the mosque are extinguished, but the lamp on the outside of the building continues to burn. When the *dhikr* is completed the lamps are lighted again and the elder of the mosque gives the order for the company to start off together, each boy carrying either a white banner or an oil lamp attached to the end of one of the bamboo poles. One of the older men of the group will carry a plate containing rice and incense. This man will enter each of the homes

of the village to ask for alms while the remainder of the procession remain in the road singing and praising the Lord and asking him and his Apostle Muhammad to prevent the sickness from coming to that place. The songs and the prayers used are in the Arabic language and have been previously committed to memory by those participating.

While this ceremony is going on some of the people in the village will come together in a certain place for a light meal of bread and a kind of drink made from the water of the coconut and native sugar. During the course of this meal no prayers are offered, but expressions of praise are repeated in Arabic in the hope that Allah will have mercy upon them and prevent the cholera and small-pox from attacking them. At the conclusion of this meal the members of the group start off in a single file through the village paths offering praise to the Lord and his Apostle. As this procession comes to an intersection of the village paths or roads one of the young men shouts as loudly as he can so that the sickness will flee across the ocean. This performance is kept up until after midnight, at which time the marchers return to the mosque. Then the elder of the mosque, or some other leader, counts the money received as alms, after which it is divided among those who took part in the procession. The leader first takes his share of the funds, then the remainder is divided among the others, including the boys who carried the lamps and banners. After this matter is disposed of then they repeat a *dhikr* a few hundred times and close with a short prayer, after which all return home.

Dr. G. Th. Simon feels that so far as the common people are concerned they have simply adopted the *rātīb* as a substitute for certain heathen customs. They do not realize the far-reaching distinction between the old magic which was for the protection of the survivors, and the Muslim use of the *rātīb* which was to be repeated in the interest of the departed soul. The common people do not recognize any particular difference, because the formulæ and charms are as unintelligible to them as was the old sorcerer's gibberish. Despite this fact, this form of mystical exercise is very popular. They see that the worshipper loses himself completely in glorifying the name of Allah in order to be but for a moment dead to the world.

Magico-mysticism.

It is doubtless impossible to draw a distinct line between mystical teaching and practices which may be classed as being pure mysticism and those which contain a greater or less degree of magic since mysticism borders so closely on the world of magic. However, in order to get a better view of the subject we wish to make reference to certain mystical ceremonies which are almost entirely in the realm of magic.

Most of these ceremonies are based partly on hysteria and mesmerism, and partly on legerdemain and have as the main part

of their exhibition the infliction of wounds either upon the leader himself, or upon one or more of his pupils. These performances are universally practised throughout the East India Archipelago under the name of *dabus* (*debus* or *gedebus*) from the Arabic word *dabbās*, "an iron awl", which serves as the chief instrument for the infliction of wounds, although swords and knives are also used. The Achehnese sometimes call the performance *rapa'i*, (from *Rifa'i*, i.e. from the name of the early North Sumatra mystic, Ahmad Rida'i, already referred to as the founder of the Rifa'iyyah Order) which word also serves to designate the tambourine which is used in this as well as other *dhikrs*. In the neighbourhood of Padang on the West Coast of Sumatra the *dabus* ceremony is held under the patronage of a local saint known as 'Abdul Qādir al Jilāni.*

According to the opinion of the natives the *dabus* performance must be held under the leadership of a true *khalifah*, i.e. a spiritual successor of the founder of the order in whose name the ceremony is performed; this leader must also have a license from his *guru* (teacher) authorizing him to conduct these otherwise dangerous exercises.

A person who desires to receive instruction in this exercise must bring as a present a bolt of white cloth, three needles and a certain amount of money. These pupils are made up mostly of young men, 18 to 20 years of age. The instruction is given in a lonely place to which people seldom come. It is necessary that the pupil and the teacher be not disturbed. During the days of training the pupil neither eats nor drinks until he has attained his objective. Some of them hold out as long as 20 days, but in case they are unable to hold out that long the *khalifah* orders them to return home. Those who are able to hold out till the completion of the ceremony are regarded as the true pupils of the *khalifah dabūs* and are then prepared to go with him from place to place giving public exhibitions of this mysterious ceremony.

The *dabus* exhibition is usually given in the evening after seven o'clock. The *khalifah* and his pupils gather in a public place, and after receiving and returning their respectful salutations they offer praise to the Lord and Muhammad and to the patron saint of their order, while at the same time they beat loudly on a drum to attract the attention of the people. The recitation of praise prescribed by the master of the order is supposed to excite holy visions in the minds of the brethren who are favoured by Allah's grace; some will see a vision of the founder of the order, others will by degrees attain to the ecstatic condition to which is attached the quality of invulnerability. Then by turning their weapons upon their own bodies they demonstrate to the witnesses the power of Allah and the excellence of the master of their order. It is reported that, in certain sections of the island, when one of the pupils has entered the ecstatic state the *khalifah* takes a chain

*The founder of the Qādiriyyah order.

several feet in length, heats it until it is red hot, then he wraps it around the neck and body of this pupil while the drum is being sounded and the chanting continues. Then the *khalifah* takes a sword and pierces the stomach of the pupil until his bowels come out. In this condition the young man is placed on the ground and covered with a white cloth while the others in the party continue to praise the Lord, the Prophet Muhammad and the saint of the order. After a few minutes the cloth is removed and the young man stands up, showing no evidence of having been wounded.

It is also reported that sometimes the *khalifah* orders the pupil to sit on the ground, after having been prepared by a ceremony such as that referred to above, then he takes a sharp sword, and, after a prayer, the *khalifah* strikes the boy's neck with the sword and severs the head from the body. Then he takes the head and the body, places them in their natural position on the ground, covers them with the white cloth and offers praise to the Lord, to Muhammad and to the saint of the order during a period of several minutes. After this the cloth is removed, behold, the head has grown back on the body and the boy stands before the people showing no signs of injury.

The conclusion of the ceremony is a prayer of thanksgiving to Allah for bringing them safely through the exercise. Then a cloth is spread on the ground on which the spectators are invited to throw any gifts of money which they may wish to give as alms. This the *khalifah* takes as his pay.

One who witnesses one of these performances, conscious of course of the fact that deception is being practised, will observe both in the players and the onlookers a curious mixture of belief, self-deception and roguishness. Belief in the possibility of actually inflicting wounds without danger through the blessed influence of the saint of the order sometimes inspires those who take part in the performance to inflict on themselves serious and often fatal injuries. The players become quite clever in pretending to deal themselves heavy blows with the awl or dagger, but in fact they are only pressing the point lightly on some hard portion of the skin. Yet it sometimes happens that those who take part in the ceremony in good faith go so far as to inflict deep wounds on their hands, arms and stomach, or knock holes in their heads, or cut pieces off their tongues.

Jimats (jāmi').* One learns of many magical performances which come under the heading of *jimats*, all of which have more or less mystical elements in them. These *jimats* (charms) are used to ward off sickness, accidents and to insure a safe journey by land or sea. The *jimat* consists usually of a small piece of paper on which is written in Arabic several hundred times the statement

* Amulet, or charm. The Malays in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula think that *jimat* is derived from the Arabic word '*azimat*' (see Wilkinson's Malay English Dictionary).

"*lā ilāha illā 'llāh*". This paper is then made into a small roll, or folded into a very small form and put into a very small tin box so as to keep the paper from getting wet. A string, made of two threads twisted together, is then fastened to the tin container so that it may be tied about the person's neck where it is to be worn all the time except when the person is bathing. The color of the two threads must be either white and red, or yellow and red.

Jimats are also used to make one invulnerable to a knife thrust, or to a bullet. Such charms contain a statement in Arabic referring to the power of Allah and the steadfastness of faith.

In case a person should meet his enemy while unprotected by a *jimat* he may say, "O piece of iron, O *panungkai* (a piece of wood used to trip an enemy causing him to fall), make strong the outside, make strong the inside of this servant by the greatness of *lā illāha illā'llāh*". While this formula is used by those who do not possess a *jimat*, yet it is sometimes used by those who have a *jimat* so as to make it more potent.

The *jimat* which is used to make one invulnerable to knives or bullets is first written in very small letters on a small piece of paper; it is then wrapped in a very small piece of tin, a small slit is made in the flesh of the person who is to use the charm, either in his right side, or in his right arm, the little tin container is put in the incision, the flesh folded over it and bound up. After this the teacher repeats a prayer, strikes the wound with the palm of his hand and the marks of the wound disappear.

There is another kind of a *jimat* which is always fastened in the hat or in the hair so that it will always be on the head. The purpose of this charm is to cause those who meet the one wearing it to feel kindly towards him.

Sufiism in Transition.

The introduction of Western education on an extensive scale into the Dutch East Indies during the past twenty years has caused the younger generation of that country to question the content of their religious teaching and the basis of their customs. The spirit of intellectual freedom has also caused them to question the teaching and practice of their elders, to adopt western modes of thinking and living, as well as western dress and to oppose the practice of polygamy. This change in the Muslim attitude towards life and religion has been responsible for the organization of a new movement throughout the Dutch East Indies known as the "Muhammadiyah Party". Every community of any size in Java and Sumatra has its local branch or chapter of this organization. Each branch operates under the direction of its own president and committee of management and has a set of rules and regulations governing the activity of each society. They have club houses, reading rooms, organised sports; boy scout and girl

guide troupes are organized and modern methods of sanitation are taught. They also seek to provide better educational opportunities for their children. This same desire for better education extends to their religious life as well. They have prepared text books on religious education much after the style of those used in the Christian Sunday Schools, and also Muhammadan Catechisms suitable for the children. They have tried to reorganize the service of worship in the Mosque, introducing the singing of hymns and a sermon much after the style of Christian Church service. There is also a yearly conference held, known as the "Muhammadiyah Congress", to which delegates are sent from the various local organizations throughout the country.

Opposed to this new movement with a greater or less degree of earnestness is the "Islamiyah Party" which represents the old traditional conception of Muhammadan life and religion. This party looks with fear and suspicion on the transformation advocated by the "Kaum Muda" (the Youth Movement), as they call it. The relationship between the two groups has at times become so strained that the Islamiyah people have in certain places closed their mosques to the members of the Muhammadiyah Party. The conservative party still holds that the life of a Muslim must be governed by the teaching of the Qur'an and the Traditions as interpreted by the old commentaries and that man's condition in life is still foreordained of Allah. The members of the Muhammadiyah Party continue to respect the teaching of the Qur'an, but maintain that it must be interpreted in the light of the knowledge of this present day. They value the traditions of the Prophet and his companions only in so far as they contribute to man's improvement, physically, intellectually and spiritually. They also realize the high regard which loyal Muhammadans have for *tasawwuf* (mysticism), but they are also conscious of the fact that what is commonly accepted as mysticism by the average Muslim is quite out of harmony with their philosophy of life, therefore they have prepared text books on *tasawwuf* which are to be used as curriculum material in the local chapters of the Muhammadiyah Party. Their teaching of mysticism as contained in these books gives that phase of Islam an entirely new meaning. They do not intend that mysticism shall lead to asceticism, but that it shall assist their people to live a more intelligent, refined and useful religious life. We shall be able to observe by the material which follows in the concluding part of this chapter that the Muhammadiyah conception of mysticism is not what we understand as orthodox mysticism, but is rather a treatise on ethics and moral science, but even so, they classify all this new doctrine under the heading of *Tasawwuf Islam* (Muhammadan Mysticism), hoping, doubtless, that under this title it will be more acceptable to the conservative groups and also perpetuate a terminology which has a deeply religious connotation for Muhammadans throughout this part of the world.

Mysticism as Taught by the Muhammadiyah Party.

The following is an extract from an article written in Malay by Dr. H. A. K. Amrullah and published in the *Muhammadiyah Almanak*, 1932-33.*

The purpose of *tasawwuf* (mysticism) in Islam is as follows :—

To cleanse the devotion of the heart and spirit of mankind from all attributes of uncleanness, meanness, and faults which are aroused because of the lusts of the lower nature and Satan ; such as the attributes of arrogance, envy, niggardliness, opposing righteousness, a love for wicked things, dislike of virtue, anger, hatred, indifference to the favours of the Lord, paganism, etc.

To cleanse one's purposes and faith from innovations; that is, purposes and faith which are not founded upon the teaching of the Qur'an and the Traditions, or which are in opposition to the faith and purpose of the Prophet and his illustrious associates.

To cleanse the secrets of man and his hidden purposes from hypocrisy and envy which may manifest themselves in a very refined manner.

As soon as the divine service is cleansed then there is put into it glorious and praiseworthy qualities ; that is, perfect faith, modesty, sincerity before the face of Allah and a search for the approval of Allah, remembrance of the greatness of Allah, fear of Allah, humility, praise, patience, a disposition inclined towards righteousness, a love for good works, a dislike for all wickedness, perfect unity, justice, faith and all profitable knowledge, together with perfect wisdom.

To guard and to cleanse all outward members from all sin and base conduct together with good behaviour and sensible disposition in the presence of all creatures, following the perfect character of our Lord Muhammad.

Such is in brief the purpose of Islamic mysticism. The knowledge which is related to it is called the science (*ilmu*) of mysticism, while those who follow it are known as *ahli tasawwuf*, *sūfī*, *mutasawwif*, or *sūfiyah*. Because of this the meaning (content) of the word *tasawwuf* is not objectionable in Islam, neither is it new, nor an innovation, for its purpose and aim is true Islam. It may be said that such are the pillars (*sendinya*) of Islam, and God knows best.

If the *sūfis* and the teachers of *sūfiism* establish the purpose and aim of the teaching of mysticism as we have briefly explained, that would be evidence to us that they are holy men and in reality the followers of the traditions. They truly should be called the chosen of the Lord on the face of the earth. But now many of the mystics have added to this form of good works much that does

*The Muhammadiyah Almanak is a handbook of general information intended for use in the home. It is published in Solo, Java, under the auspices of the Muhammadiyah Congress.

not have its origin in the teaching of the Prophet, nor does it come from his companions.

" Besides those who follow the kind of mysticism which we have referred to in the beginning, being mystics at heart and in their works there are others who call themselves mystics who bow their heads (prostrate themselves in worship), using large turbans and long coats, who offer much praise and perform many devotional exercises, do not desire nice clothes, want but little of worldly things, separate themselves from others, do not desire pleasant and tasty food, deny themselves this and that and give themselves up entirely to devotion and the repetition of the *dhikr*. In short, every form of progress in Islam connected with her search for higher learning, which is necessary to elevate the standing of Muslims,—all this is false and useless in their estimation. Such is not really mysticism and must be regarded as misleading. When we read their books we find quoted therein traditions which are false. These they use to strengthen their innovations and to prevent progress in the affairs of the world. Thus, it is evident that a belief such as this is one of the strongest influence to force the followers of Islam into the valley of ridicule and stupidity, whereas the name *tasawwuf* (mysticism), according to the faith, is a name greatly honored in the religion of Islam. A study of the work and faith of such unworthy *sūfis* makes it very clear that they are undermining the position of Islam and causing the followers of Islam to fail of the ideal given to them by the Prophet, S.A.W.* Let it be remembered that all such behaviour is nothing less than an exhibition of the skill of Satan and the cleverness of his artful manner of leading astray the followers of Islam "

Among the few available text books on mysticism as taught by the Muhammadiyah Party in Sumatra that written by Mr. Siswawijata A. Moersijdoelwadjid, in the Malay Language under the title "*Tasawwuf Islam*"** is, so far as the writer has been able to discover, the most complete and the most comprehensive. The following is a resume of the contents of this book :—

The religion of Islam is a religion of surrender and obedience to Allah.

The aims of Islam are four :

- (1) To prevent the faith of humanity from going astray and to prevent idolatry.
- (2) To provide for proper worship (*'ibādat*).
- (3) To make possible proper intercourse between various peoples,—both in the case of those who are religious as well as among those who are not religiously inclined.

*Sallā allāhu alaihi wa sallama—" May God have mercy upon him and give him peace."

**This book was published in Solo, Java, in 1927, by the Muhammadiyah Party as a text book of instruction material for the use of the members in the various local chapters of this movement who desire to study the science of mysticism.

(4) To elevate the ideals and condition of humanity to a higher plain of living.

The teaching used to explain the above-mentioned aims is known as the science of mysticism (*ilmu tasawwuf*).

It is intended that the science of mysticism should be used by mankind as a bridle (rein) by which to control the lower nature. The lower nature seeks to destroy the world, and, this nature, being a part of every man tends to lead him to forget his humanity. When people learn to use the bridle of mysticism then mankind will find it easy to perform the good works desired by the Lord and then the world will live in peace.

It is evident that mysticism is necessary for every person. Mankind is under the control of the Lord and he will make possible those things which are necessary for man. Therefore, man's need for mysticism will be supplied by the Lord.

Al-Qur'an, the book of the Lord, which was revealed to our Prophet Muhammad in order to provide for the needs of every man in the universe, contains many kinds of teaching required by mankind. Therefore, man should get the teaching of mysticism from the Qur'an also. There are many people who are not Muslims who profess to be mystics and will call you "brother". Be on your guard when you meet such people. Do not quickly believe their teaching, for if we investigate carefully their manner of conduct it will be evident that such is only a means by which to arouse the emotions of those who have embraced some religion.

Brother Muslims! away with such teaching of mysticism which does not agree with, or is not based upon the Qur'an, and remember the word of the Lord which says, "This is the genuine Qur'an in us (Allah), may you hold it as precious, do not follow some other way which will separate you from the way of your Lord." (Sura VI. 152).*

Al-Insan. (The Man).

Man appears to be a unit (a single nature), but in truth he has two parts (a dual nature); the physical body and the spiritual body. Some scientists claim that human existence comes to pass only as a result of the action of certain physical elements upon certain other similar elements. Each element, or essence, which contributes to the making of man has its own strength. When certain elements unite with other elements they change their attributes. This change produces variations in the human family. In short, man's life (they say) is produced by a collection of these various elements uniting their individual qualities and not by the power of the spirit. When one or more of these elements get out of order then man becomes ill. When man

*This verse appears in the Malay text as given here, but the reference is evidently to Sura VI. 154, which reads; " (Because) this is my path, a straight one, follow it; and do not follow other ways and a separation take place between yourself and His way."

loses one or more of these elements he loses the strength which they contribute. When too large a number of these elements cease to contribute their strength then man dies and that is the end of everything.

Even though this theory is taught by many wise men, and though it has the appearance of being true, yet it is far from the truth when compared with the teaching and evidence which comes from the religion of Islam as we shall see by the following.

Man has two bodies—the physical (*kasar*) and the spiritual (*halus*). The physical body is that part which can be seen and touched. The spiritual body, spirit or soul, is the cause of life in man.

There are various evidences that man has a spiritual body, as for example :

(1) The spiritual body can change its attributes, *e.g.*, can remain quiet, move from a given place to another, etc. This is different from the characteristics of a material body, *e.g.*, a square piece of wood can not become round without destroying its squareness, and when it has become round it can not become square again without outside force altering its shape. The same is true of other physical bodies.

(2) A spiritual body, *e.g.*, mankind, can receive things which are not essential to material body, as science, instruction, speech, etc.

(3) The condition of the dead. A person of bad character dies and likewise a person of good character. In what respect do they differ? If justice is to be done the reward of the good man must be different from that of the bad man. Who will receive this reward? Certainly the spiritual body.

(4) All religions agree that there is a spiritual body (soul).

Both the physical and spiritual bodies are attacked by diseases. The physical body has fever, wounds, itch, etc. For such ailments medicine can be secured by going to the doctor. While the diseases of the spiritual body can be cured by religion only. In religion there is '*Ilmu Tasawwuf*, '*Ilmu Adab*, '*Akhlaq*, such is the celebrated medicine for sick souls.

There are four qualities in man which relate him to other creatures :

(1) *Qalbu* (*hati sanaubari*), heart, the organ of circulation.

(2) *Ruh* (spirit). That is a thing which causes life in all animals, including man.

(3) '*Aql*, *i.e.*, '*Ilmu*, knowledge or understanding.

(4) *Nafsu*, desire, passion, or the lower nature.

Balatentra Nafsu. (The Army of Desire).

The operation of desire in man may be likened unto a king who has two armies, one for the control of internal affairs and one

for use in the settlement of foreign problems. In like manner there are two forces operating in connection with desire. The outward army is called *hissiyah*, things visible to the eye. The second army is called *ma'nawiyah*, the things not visible to the eyes, *i.e.* desires and passions.

Some of the mystics claim that in order to seek for holiness we must despise, or discount the value and strength of the army of desire. The nose should not be used for smelling, the eyes should not be used to see the wonders of creation, the ears must not hear pleasing sounds and the tongue should not enjoy food. One should remain quiet regardless of what may be done to his body. When a person becomes well grounded in such a manner of living, —in short has no use for the things of this world and is really dead while being yet alive, then they regard such an one as holy and fit for a seat in heaven. Beware brothers ! Do not quickly believe this lest you be deceived by false mystics. Such teaching of mysticism is only a method of confusing and overthrowing weak Muslims. If their teaching of the purpose of mysticism were true then for what use did the Lord create this world ? What was the use of the Lord creating man with physical characteristics and desires ?

In the following the real teaching of Islamic Mysticism will be explained :

It is not the purpose of mysticism to destroy man's attributes ; *hawa nafsu* (lower nature), *shahwat* (desires), *ghadab* (passions), but only to direct or control them.

The strength of the desire for the things of the sense (*nafsu hissiyah*) may be likened to a horse on which a man rides to heaven. A person who rides a horse must know how to hold the reins. If the rider does not hold the reins properly he is likely to be injured. Likewise we must know how to hold the rein on our desires and passions. That which can best be used as a rein to control these desires is religion. Without the control which religion exercises these desires and passions will get the upper hand and their victims will be cast into the valley of misery. When people understand well the fruits of the lower nature it is well at times to compel *shahwat* (desire) and *ghadab* (passion) to perform good works ('*amal*) by eating bitter medicine.

Human attributes are of four varieties :

- (1) *Sabu'iyah* (binatang) buas) savageness.
- (2) *Bahimiyah* (binatang ternak) animal nature.
- (3) *Shaitaniyah* (bangsa shaitan) devilish.
- (4) *Rabubiyah* (ke Tuhanan) lordship.

In the case of most people these four attributes are continually changing. Any one of them may be exhibited in the same person at different times. The first three of these attributes mentioned above were given to man by the Lord so that he (man) should

make use of them, not simply as something which man should try to eradicate (*hapuskan*), as some people would have us believe. In order to make use of these attributes we must at the same time make use of religion.

When man has learned to use the first three of these attributes wisely he shall then be able to consider the fourth, that is "lordship". When man attains to the attribute of lordship all his desires, conduct, speech and works will be in harmony with the will of the Lord.

In order better to control his desires man must see to it that Satan does not gain control of his imagination. There are four gates through which he may enter man's imagination :

(1) Desire. By the strength of desire we are led to seek food, drink and such like. When we eat or drink to excess that is an evidence that Satan controls the imagination.

(2) Passion. People should make use of their passions but if they are always angry and unreliable that is evidence that their passions are mixed with the strength of Satan.

(3) Vanity. Seeking satisfaction in jewels, decorations, and physical gratification. For example, if a man's wife has done all she can to satisfy him, but it has not been according to his fancy, then, in order to secure further satisfaction, he goes beyond the bounds of decency and seeks gratification in other places and from other women. My brother, be considerate and put such conduct far from you.

(4) Fanaticism. One may be possessed by a great desire to do a certain kind of work, or to achieve a certain goal, but in all this he must be considerate and use care. He should not become deaf and blind to other things and fail to see the faults in himself and the good which comes from other sources. A person who does not recognize these possibilities is in partnership with Satan.

The Acquisition of Wisdom.

Some say that a man's form (appearance) can not be changed. In case a man is bad looking and ill proportioned no doctor or medicine can make him good looking and of uniform proportion. So with the qualities of the spiritual body, (they say) its attributes can not be changed. Others say that to improve one's wisdom requires that one should eradicate all desires and aspirations. Thus only those are wise who have cleansed themselves of all wordly desires. They say : " Those who have need for the things of this world and yet hope to enter heaven may be likened unto an elephant attempting to crawl into an ant-hill ". They would also say : " Blessed in the life to come are those who are content to lose all their possessions ".

Those who are real Islamic mystics smile at these two statements.

1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

If a man can not change his physical attributes and appearance for what purpose then do we build schools, libraries, and hospitals? Of what value is the good teaching spread abroad by wise men? For what use did the Lord send prophets into the world? We can teach animals, can not man also be taught? Any sensible person will understand this matter. If it is to be required of wise men that they should eradicate all physical desires and ambitions, why then did the Lord give man a physical body and desires? We need to beware of this doctrine to eradicate all desire, being spread abroad among many people, lest its teachers may then be left to follow their carnal desires without any restraint. Then only the strong will be able to deny themselves while the weak will be left to possess the earth.

Man's wisdom must also be evidenced in the moulding of his character. Some say that after a person has developed a habit it can not be changed. It is our belief that habits can be changed, since a man can change his conduct and conduct is the material out of which habits are formed. When a man is made to see the direction in which his habits are leading him then he will, if he is intelligent, set about changing his conduct.

The Improvement of Human Understanding.

In some cases this change comes about entirely as a result of the will of the Lord. In such cases the people were influenced when very young to control their desires and passions. Such was true in the case of the prophets and the apostles. It is evident to us that while such people were yet children, before Allah had given any revelation to them, they were in possession of a set purpose and mind to control their desires and to possess an understanding which would fit them to be prophets of the Lord. It is therefore possible for one to improve himself if he will but put forth the effort. That is, one should compel his desires and ambitions to contribute towards the performance of good works. A stingy person should force himself to give alms, or to throw a few coins to the poor. If this is done constantly and with patience the attribute of stinginess will be changed into a disposition to be generous.

In like manner a person who is proud and conceited should compel himself to become humble.

One should always remember that it is usual for people to imitate the habits of those with whom they associate. Thus we should choose to associate with those who are sensible and who perform good works so that it will be easier for us to improve our minds and to perform good works.

Another condition necessary to improvement is that we must recognize our imperfections. A Malay proverb says, "*Kuman di sebarang lautan tampak, gajah di pelupuk mata tiada tampak*". "The *kuman* (small insect) can be seen on the far side of the ocean, but an elephant on the eye lid is not visible". This proverb,

easily repeated by anyone, needs to be emphasized. We are quick to recognize the faults of others, be they ever so small, but we are slow to recognize our own faults, even though ever so large.

The teaching of Islamic mysticism is a cleanser of the heart (*penyuchi hati*) and by its help the problem set forth in the proverb referred to above can be solved. We are not fit to understand the faults of others, but we should have an understanding of our faults so that we can treat them until the sickness is cured. In order that we may better understand our sickness (faults) we should try to comprehend the teaching of mysticism as given below.

(1) Study the teaching which has reference to the cleansing of the heart (*i.e.* mysticism). When one seriously studies the teaching of mysticism he will understand his personal faults. As water, continually dripping on a stone, will gradually wear it away, so will the continual teaching of mysticism cure those, the eyes of whose hearts are blind.

(2) Study the conduct of others. When we recognize in others some evil behaviour or conduct we must then ask ourselves if we are guilty of the same manner of conduct. In case we have been infected with the same disease let us at once seek for a remedy.

(3) Ask our friends about our conduct. What is their honest opinion about us? This is also a simple method, but many find it difficult to follow because so many people are inclined to get angry when a friend explains to them the character of their faults.

(4) Listen to what your enemies have to say about you. This must be done with a clean and unprejudiced heart. How much truth is there in what they say regarding you? If what your enemy says about you is a lie, then never mind, but if there is some truth in what he says then you should regard that very highly and even thank him for his good advice, since through his criticism you have become aware of this sickness.

As soon as we become aware of this sickness referred to above we should seek for a remedy; that is, control of our passions. Certain wise men have said that it is easier to fight with sword and guns, poison gas, etc., than it is for one to conquer his own passions. The Prophet Muhammad said, "He who is able to control his passions may be called a real soldier". In case of war a person may choose to be a soldier or not, as he pleases, but in the war against passions there is no choice. Everyone must fight until he is able to perform good works as required by the Qur'an and the Traditions, and is able to abstain from the evil works which are forbidden. Then it will be evident that he is able to control his passions.

The calamity of the late World War, the recent happenings in Vienna, Berlin, Russia and the East Indies, have all come to pass because people would not control their passions. We are certain that the world will be at peace when men are able to control their

passions through the influence of Islamic mysticism as taught in the Qur'an and the Traditions.

The teaching of Islamic mysticism is always in harmony with human nature. It teaches us that man should make use of his passions, but not allow them to lead him into excess. If people are vexed it is natural for them to be angry, or to offer resistance when they are abused. The Prophet was frequently angry and severe, but never beyond limits (never lost control of himself).

When anger is first aroused we should at once apply the following remedy :—

(1) Overcome anger with knowledge ('*ilmu*). Remember the reward of those who have control of their anger.

(2) Remember the punishment of those who are angry as explained in the teaching of the religion of Islam. 'Abdullah bin 'Umar said in the presence of the Prophet of Allah, "What will prevent the Lord from punishing my body"? The Apostle of Allah replied, "You must not be angry".

(3) Remember the countenance of a person who is angry. How repulsive it appears. Look at your own face in a mirror when you are angry and see how ugly it is. It will be like the face of a crazy person.

(4) Remember the fruits of anger,—broken friendships, trouble which others have been compelled to suffer. Also remember that the person with whom you are angry will possibly seek revenge—perhaps by using poison, or in some other deadly manner.

(5) Remember the weakness and despicableness of all who get angry.

If after following the above rules your anger has not disappeared, then you should make use of '*amal* (good works).

(1) Repeat *Lafz ta'wūd* : " *A'ūd bi'llahi min ashshaitānir-rajīm* ".

(2) Change your position. For example, if when you get angry you are standing, then you should quickly sit down. Then if you are still angry you should lie down. If after lying down you are still angry then you should get some *air wadu'* (water for religious ablutions) and directly worship the Lord. However intense your anger may be it will disappear when you repeat the *salāt* (worship).

Another disease with which the soul must contend is envy. Muhammad said, "Envy destroys righteousness as fire eats wood."

Envy manifests itself in four ways :—

(1) When people hope that the possessions of another may decrease. For example, there may be some wealthy person

whom we dislike. We hope and plan, as far as possible, that his wealth may disappear. Perhaps there is one upon whom special honor has come and we hope that this honor may be taken from him.

(2) When people hope that the possessions of another may be transferred from the one whom they envy to themselves. This is more serious than the type of envy referred to above.

(3) Envy which grows out of a failure in business competition. For example, A and B sell cloth in the market. A makes a good profit since he is selling a good grade of cloth, but B having a less desirable grade of cloth is not so successful and therefore is envious of A. Later B secures a better grade of cloth, his business improves and his envy disappears.

The causes of envy are four :—

(1) Envy grows quickest in the hearts of those who are enemies. Because of this the religion of Islam forbids enmity amongst its followers. The Apostle of Allah said, " You should not be envious and you should not be angry, do not be at odds with others. You should be the servants of the Lord, being bound together as brothers one to another."

(2) Egotism (*ta'azzuz*) leads to envy. This trait is manifest in those who dislike to mix with other people and are proud, selfish and seek for distinction. When a person thinks too much of himself envy will grow in his heart.

(3) Undue anxiety concerning possessions and things which we need.

(4) Envy grows easily in those who are naturally evil minded, being envious for no real reason.

There are two remedies for envy :—

(1) Instruction. Remember that envy will cause the ruin of a person in this world and in the world to come. It will diminish the sin of the one envied. A person who is continually envious will have his blood heated up, which will interfere with its proper circulation and thus result in heart trouble. If this trouble continues it may bring one to an early grave, and finally, in the after-life, that person will be punished because of envy.

We should remember that in reality the presence of envy in a person shows that he is not in sympathy with the will of God. Such is indeed an unworthy attribute. The Lord's favors for his servants are already prepared according to divine justice. Let us not attempt to improve upon them, but remember the example of the Prophet Muhammad who in no case hoped for personal satisfaction, but desired only to advance the interests of his people.

(2) Good works (*'amal*) as a remedy for envy must be indulged in continuously and with all one's strength.

Pride must also be considered a disease of the soul. The pest and influenza are very serious diseases, but at their worst they can only injure the physical body, while the disease of pride will ruin both the physical and the spiritual body. So that even after we have entered the grave we shall still suffer from the results of pride. Because of pride we are not only separated from Allah, but will also be cast into the valley of Hell.

In the Qur'an the Lord said, "Truly Allah is not pleased with the proud".

The Apostle of Allah said, "Whoever has pride in his heart the size of a grain of rice can not enter into heaven".

We find that education is sometimes the cause of pride. Some people who consider themselves learned feel that they belittle themselves if they associate with ignorant people. Such conduct is not in keeping with the teaching of Islam. According to the program of Islam the educated should share their knowledge with the ignorant.

Some people who have many good works to their credit are inclined to be proud when they compare themselves with those who have few good works. This should not be.

Rank or Position: People who have been given a certain rank by the government are apt to show signs of pride when called upon to associate with those of lower rank. The Apostle of Allah, said, "No person can excel another except it be in the matter of religion or good works".

People who are handsome, or who make a fine appearance, are easily attacked by the disease of pride. In this day and age a person who prides himself on his good looks is not worth half a cent (*sepeser*).

The wealthy are also inclined to be proud and to look with condescension upon the poor.

Those who are advanced in years dislike to receive instruction from those who are younger than themselves. This is also due to pride.

Those who are physically strong, or are equipped with weapons, or have many friends may easily become proud.

Although pride is a very serious malady it can be cured by using the remedy prepared by the religion of Islam. This cure is to be found in Islamic mysticism.

Proud people should remember that man is made of base material, and that he came from a lowly place, and that finally his body will return to base material which will produce a most loathsome smell. When one remembers these facts he should be ashamed of his pride.

Another disease of the spiritual body is hypocrisy or vanity. For such a malady there are four remedies:—

(1) Remember the warnings contained in the Qur'an and the Traditions against those who are guilty of hypocrisy.

(2) Remember that this world is very despicable ('aib) when compared with the hereafter.

(3) Remember that it is not certain whether those who are the victims of hypocrisy will be received (in heaven) or will suffer on account of this trouble in their hearts.

(4) Remember that man has many difficulties from which he will not get release.

When one is performing good works let him not do it with the idea of winning praise. Those who perform good works for the sake of praise forget Allah and are not sincere. It is necessary for one to remember that hypocrisy may overtake a person in any of the following ways :—

(1) It may come at the beginning of the performance of good works (worship).

(2) It may come while a person is performing good works.

(3) It may come at the conclusion of good works.

The first form may be explained as follows. A person is not in the habit of performing worship in his home. On a certain occasion he visits the home of a friend where acts of worship are performed regularly. Then, when this friend returns the visit he performs worship during the period of the friend's visit. In such a manner does hypocrisy make its beginning.

The second case may be illustrated in the following manner. Suppose that while one is in the midst of worship a person arrives. In the mind of the worshipper there is a question as to whether he should not conclude his worship. Such questioning constitutes hypocrisy. While we are in the process of worship let it not be stopped until completed. While one is worshipping he should be thinking only of the Lord and should pay no attention to anybody else.

The third form is much like the second. For example, when a person goes to the mosque for worship on Friday and is in the midst of *sembahyang takhiyat al masjid*,* then hypocrisy enters his heart. When one feels that such is his condition let him be quiet for a while and cease from worship until he feels that he is free from all hypocrisy.

"This teaching concerning Islamic Mysticism is based upon the teaching of the Muhammadiyah Party which has its headquarters in Soerakarta, Java, and is used wherever instruction in the religion of Islam is given by the members of the Muhammadiyah Party". (The previous paragraph is the concluding statement of the publishers of the book which has been reviewed).

This resume of Mr. Moersjidoelwadjid's book on Muhammadan Mysticism gives a comprehensive view of the present day

*The worship of the Greeting of the Mosque.

teaching available on this subject by the most wide-awake and progressive group of Muslims in Sumatra. The Muhammadiyah Party publishes its literature in both the Jawi (Arabic) characters and the Romanized Malay, thus making it available to the greatest possible number of their people. The Islamiyah teachers of so-called orthodox Sūfiism have no recent publications (so far as the writer has been able to discover) for use among their followers, but they rely upon the older books on this subject, most of which were published in Cairo, Egypt. Such material is published in the Jawi character only, with the result that the average member of the present generation in Sumatra finds such books a bit too difficult for interesting reading, aside from the fact that the subject material deals with categories of thought which belong to the dim and unattractive past. On the other hand the Muhammadiyah teachers not only make their instruction material accessible by using Romanized Malay as well as the Jawi, but also their teaching is framed in categories of thought which have to do with man's present and future possibilities and thus presents to the awakened intelligence of the average member of this generation of Muslims, a hopeful outlook which challenges his attention and convinces him that mysticism is not a phase of religion to be relegated to the unattractive haunts of ascetics and *faqirs*, but that it can be adapted to the life and limitations of the average man who is occupied with the very practical business of earning a living for himself and those dependent upon him, and who, at the same time, wished to fill his place as a worthy and intelligent member of the religious community in which he lives.

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SOME COPPER TOKENS IN THE RAFFLES MUSEUM, SINGAPORE.

By C. H. DAKERS, M.C., F.S.A. (Scot.) M.C.S.

Plates I—II.

Lieutenant Colonel H. Leslie Ellis in his article in the Numismatic Circular (Volume XV Third series pages 135—153) entitled 'British Copper Tokens of the Straits Settlements and Malayan Archipelago' has given a very interesting account of the origin, use and history of the tokens struck in England and imported by merchants for use as local small change. The Raffles Museum has a very complete collection of these coins, mostly from the Ellis collection, and in process of arranging and cataloguing them. I have discovered two unpublished 'Mules'. The series which I describe below are Ellis' first and second but the illustrations are confined to the one Keping pieces. As a result of the prevalence of 'Mules' I have arranged the obverses and reverses on separate plates and distinguished the obverses by letters and the reverses by numbers.

A. Island of Sumatra 1804—this obverse has a sub-variety in which the design is slightly smaller and the lions heads narrower. No. 1 is its proper reverse (Ellis 1) but it also appears with the reverse No. 4 which belongs to the Cock right, (Ellis 2). There is in the Raffles Collection a specimen which has been roughly restamped with, obverse, a barbarous imitation of the Arms of Zealand and, reverse, the V.O.C. monogramme and an illegible date. The Island of Sumatra coins include two curiously mis-struck specimens in which the machinery has caused the dies to strike the flans twice—the second time before the previous striking had been completely withdrawn.

B. Island of Sultana 1804. No. 1 appears to be the correct reverse for this variety also (Ellis 3) but there is a specimen (Ellis 4) in the collection (it is the one illustrated by Ellis) which has for the reverse No. 5 the star or flower belonging to C. R. Read's coin J. The Museum collection adds an unpublished variety in an example of B with the reverse of the Cock right coin No. 4.

C. D. and E. Island of Sultana coins with the horses as supporters have one common reverse, No. 6, which they share with the Cock right coins. Obverse E without the inscription would appear to be rare as there is only one of this type in the collection (Ellis 5, 6 and 7).

F. G. and H. are the Cock right type (Ellis 10). I have subdivided both the obverses and the reverses roughly into three main types.

F in its earliest type has a raised rim and is of better workmanship than the other two. The Cock is well designed and is from the same irons as that on the two Keping piece (Ellis 9). The Cock on F may be distinguished by having the last two feathers on the tail crossed. The proper reverse of this type is No. 2 in which the diagonal dividing stroke in $\frac{1}{2}$ is produced to touch the Arabic inscription. F also occurs without the raised rim and with reverse No. 4,* in which the diagonal dividing stroke between $\frac{1}{2}$ does not meet the inscription, and again with reverse No. 6 which is common to the Sultana coins C. D. and E. (Ellis 14). There is a 'Mule' in the collection which is not in Ellis' text but is mentioned in his foot-note on page 146. The obverse of this coin is F but the reverse is No. 1 which belongs properly to the Sumatra and Sultana coins A and B.

The Cock on type G can be distinguished by the fact that the last tail feather is single and hangs straight down. The workmanship is coarser. The reverses associated with it are No. 3, in which the stroke in $\frac{1}{2}$ is horizontal, No. 4, No. 5, which is C. R. Read's flower or star (Ellis 12), and No. 6. The commonest appears to be No. 4.

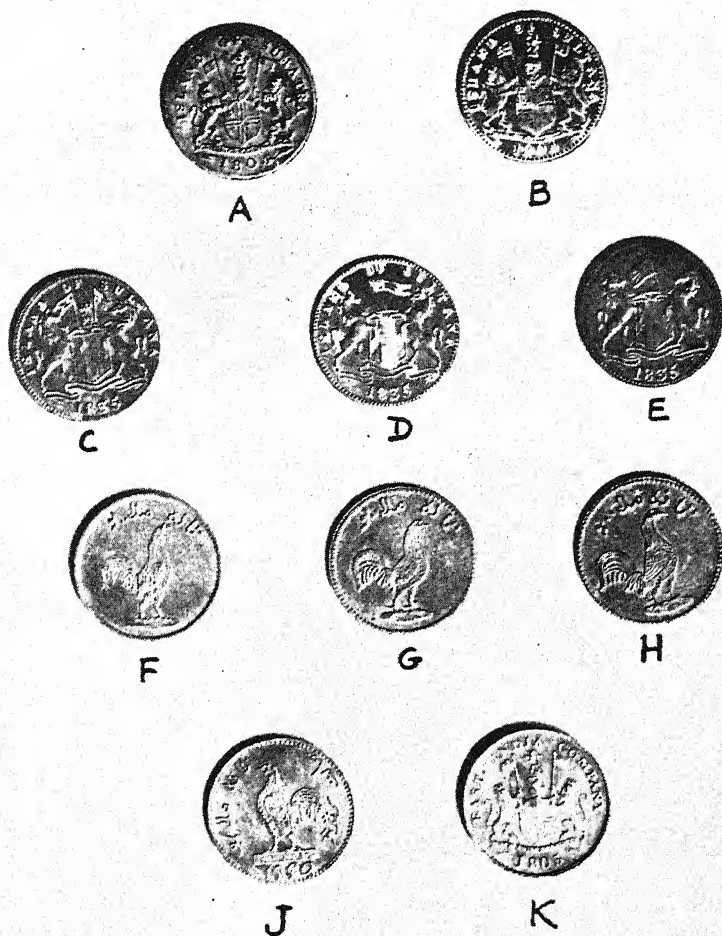
In type H the last tail feather of the Cock is curled out to the left. The reverses are Nos. 3, 4 and 6. The commonest of the whole Cock series is H with No. 4. There are in the collection several coins with the obverse H which have suffered mis-striking in the same manner as the Island of Sumatra coins mentioned above and also one of double the usual thickness overstruck on obverse and reverse.

Two curious coins with this obverse are in yellow metal resembling brass. They are type H on the obverse but the plumage of the Cock, and in one case the inscription, are very defined ill and blurred. The reverse in each case is No. 4. One specimen is countermarked with a large S in front of the Cock.

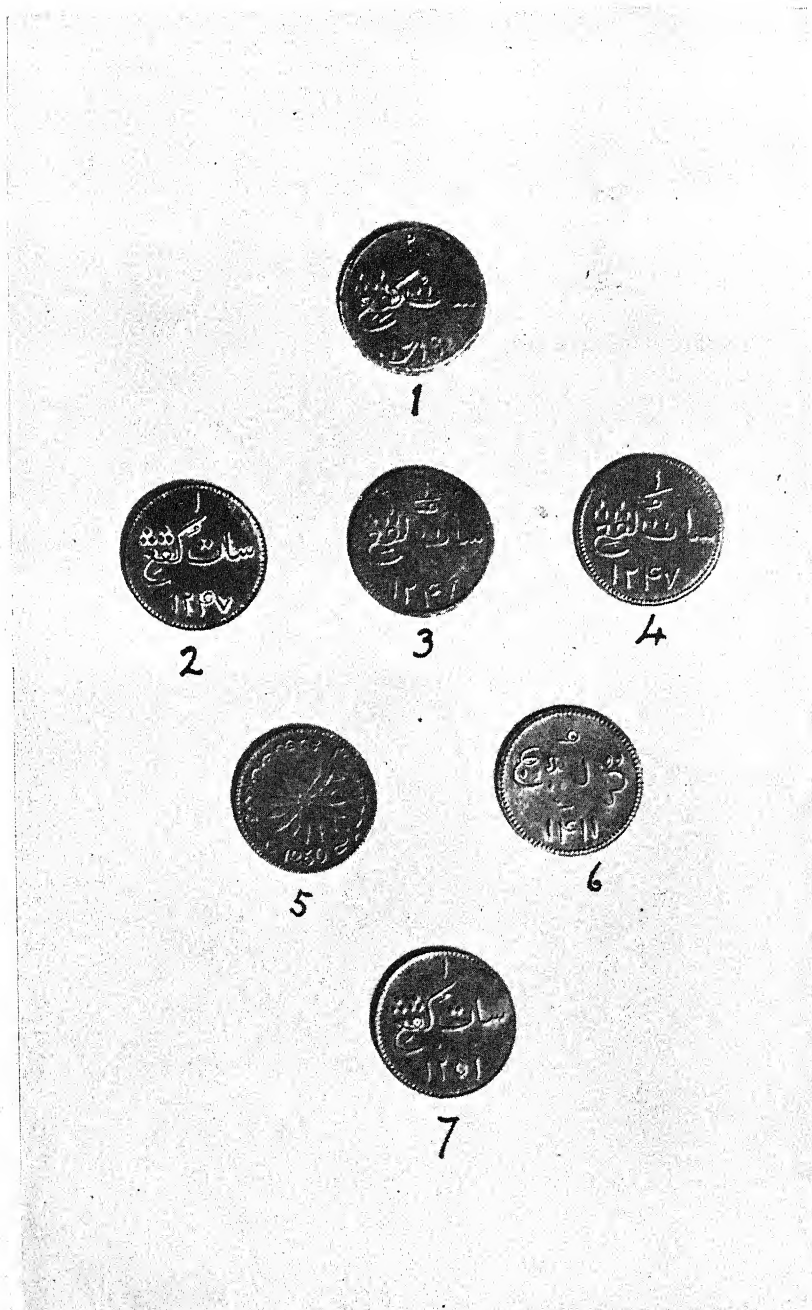
Ellis 11 is not represented in the Raffles Museum collection so I am not able to say for certain whether the obverse is of the type F, G. or H. (it is probably F) but the reverse appears to be No. 7 which is taken from the Keping pieces of the Third series, Ellis 15 etc. The two Keping piece, Ellis 9, has the same reverse as those in the Fourth series Ellis 18, 22 etc., and no 'Mules' are known.

Obverse J is C. R. Read's with the Cock to left. The only reverse of this type is No. 5 (Ellis 13). There is however an extraordinary piece known to Ellis but not published by him. This combines the obverse J with the obverse K. K is the genuine East India Company obverse of the official issue dated

*The very rare Keping, Ellis 38, with the Badger of the Brooke family and the date 1841 on the obverse has a reverse of the type of No. 4 which does not agree in date with the obverse.



DAKERS : Copper Tokens.



DAKERS : Copper Tokens.

1803 of the Quarter Faluce of Madras (Atkins 135), and similar also to those of the one keping coin of Sumatra and the half pice of Bombay both dated 1804 (Atkins 23×122). I cannot explain this coin in any other way than as a purposely concocted freak. It appears to be uncirculated.

I give below the interchanges of the reverse dies with the obverses, which I have noted, in the form of a table.

OBSERVE.

REVERSE.

A	.. 1: 4.
B	.. 1: 4: 5.
C	.. 6.
D	.. 6.
E	.. 6.
F	.. 1: 2: 4: 6: 7?
G	.. 3: 4: 5: 6.
H	.. 3: 4: 6.
J	.. 5: and obverse K.
K	.. obverse J.

RHINOCEROS SONDAICUS.

The Javan or Lesser One-horned Rhinoceros and its Geographical Distribution.

By CHARLES W. LOCH.

Plates III—IV.

In January, 1932 when the Sungai Lampan Javan rhinoceros was shot, near Telok Anson, by Mr. A. S. Vernay for the British Museum, a great deal of newspaper correspondence took place in the Malayan press as to the relative scarcity of this great beast. Well-intentioned but ill-informed persons also took up the argument and criticised the authorities for allowing a specimen of this rare species to be collected.

There is no doubt that *Rhinoceros sondaicus*, a few specimens of which still linger in Malaya, is one of the rarest of the great mammals in existence at the present time. So little is known about it that it will surely be of scientific interest to place on record all the information that can be found about it with as much accuracy as possible from the data available; and with special reference to the occurrence of *sondaicus* in Malaya.

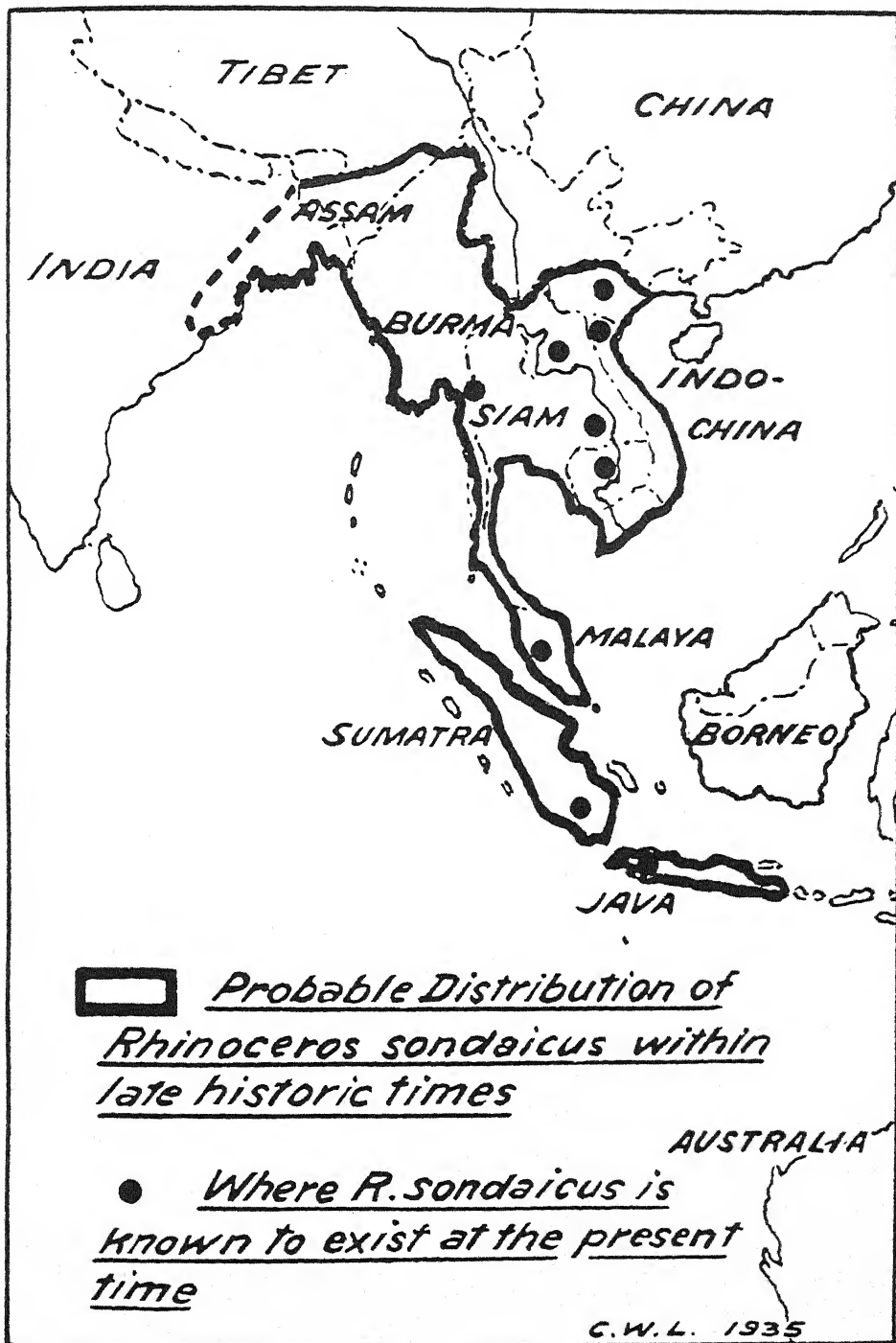
The writer first became interested in the subject, when living at Changkat Pa'Badak on the Kinta River, not far from the town of Kampar, during the years 1929—33. Malays coming from Changkat Pingan a few miles down stream would speak of a "badak" of enormous size living in the jungle to the south of them, the tracks of which had been often seen. Finding that we were interested, they would draw upon their imagination, until we were told on one occasion of it making a nightly visit and eating the "pisangs" on the outskirts of the village. As this was rather hard to believe several trips down river were made to investigate, only to find as we had thought, that none of the Malays had actually seen it but had heard about it from Sakais whose kampongs were further again to the south. There were many of these people living some three or four miles from Changkat Pingan, out in the jungle; and they could all point to the locality, not far away, where the tracks of the "badak" were to be seen and where he was known to live. There was no doubt, from their description, that he was a very big beast. This animal eventually turned out to be the solitary rhino shot by Vernay in January, 1932.

Living Species of Rhinoceroses.

We will now enumerate the existing species of rhinoceros. In Africa are to be found the following:—

The White rhinoceros	<i>R. simus.</i>
The Black rhinoceros	<i>R. bicornis.</i>

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Map showing the Geographical Distribution of
Rhinoceros sondaicus.

Both these animals were formerly widely distributed in Africa, but are now greatly restricted in locality and reduced in numbers. The "white" rhinoceros, the largest of all, and once found from Cape Colony to the Sudan, now survives only as a small colony of twenty-five or thirty in Zululand, a larger number north of Lake Albert, and perhaps a few more in the Sudan territory. The "black" rhino, formerly common in South Africa and extending to Abyssinia and Nigeria, is now restricted to a small number in Tanganyika, Kenya, and Northern Uganda.

Three species of rhinoceros are to be found in Asia :

The Indian or Greater one-horned rhinoceros *R. unicornis*.

The Javan or Lesser one-horned rhinoceros *R. sondaicus*.

The Sumatran rhinoceros *R. sumatrensis*.

The Great Indian rhinoceros is still to be found in the Terai of Nepal and a few are left in Bhutan, Kuch Behar and Assam. It is known to have existed within historical times through the Punjab as far as Peshawar. Encroachment on its haunts for agricultural purposes means its probable extinction in the near future. The shoulder height of this animal may be nearly six feet and the record horn length is 24 inches. The skin exhibits a number of deep folds around the neck and three on the body. While the fold behind the shoulders and the fold in front of the thighs pass over the back, that in front of the shoulders does not do so. The skin of the sides of the body is thickly studded with large round lumps, similar to boiler rivets.

The Sumatran rhinoceros, a smaller two-horned animal, lives in dense jungle on inaccessible mountain ranges and should remain in existence for a longer period than either of the others. It is to be found in Borneo, Sumatra, through the Malay Peninsula to Burma and Assam and also in Siam and Indo-China. It stands not more than four, or four feet six inches at the shoulder, has a folded skin and is distinctly hairy. The record (front) horn length is $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The Javan rhinoceros is intermediate in size between the two, standing about five feet six inches at the shoulder. It is distinguished by the mosaic-like pattern on the skin, similar to that of a crocodile ; also by the fold in front of the shoulder passing over the back. This animal has a characteristic fold of skin over the neck like a saddle. The record horn is $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The male of this species alone carries a horn, but it has been found on the female in a rudimentary condition. This rhinoceros had in former times an extensive range. From the Sunderbans, Eastern Bengal and Assam, through Burma and Siam to the Malay Peninsula ; it is also to be found in the islands of Sumatra and Java and also in French Indo-China. It is now unfortunately on the verge of extinction.

Geographical Distribution and Existing Numbers.

We will now give the geographical distribution of *Rhinoceros sondaicus* in the past and at the present time, from the latest available data; and will place on record the number of this species still believed to exist, under the heading of each separate country.

Bengal.

There have been rumours of the former existence of *R. sondaicus* in the forests of Orissa and about the delta of the Mahanadi River, in the Bay of Bengal. This has been discredited by some authorities and as specimens have not been seen by Europeans, we have now no means of ascertaining the truth.

In the Sunderbans delta, only a short journey from Calcutta, it was to be found in the swamps and marshy flats. The last tracks of the animal were seen here about 1887 so that by 1890 it had probably died out. In 1877 a young one, a female three feet high was brought to London where it soon died. This was the last to be captured alive in Bengal. There are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, two mounted specimens; both female animals from the Sunderbans shot in 1872 and 1874 by Messrs. O. L. Fraser and J. Barckley respectively: the latter is said to be the last taken in the district. A skeleton is in the possession of the Calcutta Museum from near Jessore; and also other trophies from various or unknown localities.

Assam.

Rhinoceros sondaicus is said to have been found in the Sikkim Terai. From the locality it is more likely to have been the Great Indian rhinoceros that was found here.

In an interesting book by Colonel Pollock and W. S. Thom "Wild Sports of Burma and Assam", many references to the existence of the Javan rhinoceros occur. Pollock writes:—

"This animal extends through Assam, down Sylhet, the Garrow Hills, Tipperah, Chittagong, Arrakan and Burma to Malaya, and probably into Yunan and the western provinces of China."

"I have never shot the lesser rhinoceros on the right bank of the Brahmapootra but I have no doubt it exists, as it is also found in the Soonderbunds not far from Calcutta; but it is fairly plentiful on the left bank South of Goalparah, where I have killed it."

"I may here mention about them in Assam—as I intend to give a short sketch of wild sport in that Province—that I shot there forty-four to my own gun, and probably saw some sixty others slain, and lost wounded fully as many as I killed."

The latter paragraph, no doubt, refers to all species of rhino. Colonel F. T. Pollock spent seven years, in the '60s, in Assam, and was an accurate observer and keen shikari. If one European can, in seven years, account for so many little wonder that the Javan-rhinoceros is now extinct in the country. Most interesting accounts are given in this book of hunting the rhinoceros both in Assam and Upper and Lower Burma, but rarely is the species specified.

A specimen taken at Manipur in 1874 was brought to London by the dealer Jamrach, and was later sent to the Berlin Zoological Gardens. It had been determined as *R. sondaicus* both in Berlin and London. Jamrach was not satisfied with this, and insisted that it represented a hitherto undescribed species. He finally described it himself as *R. jamrachii*! The remains have apparently been lost. It has not been possible to locate any references to *sondaicus* having been seen or shot in Assam during the present century, or to find out the date of when the last one was shot in the country. None of these animals are known to exist in Bengal or Assam at the present time.

Burma.

It is not impossible that there may be one or two lingering along the Arakan Coast or elsewhere. In a letter received from the Forest Department, Shwebb, it stated that four specimens of the Javan rhinoceros probably occur in the Kahilu Game Sanctuary. This is located in the Thaton and Salween Districts, in Lower Burma. In the Shwe-U-Daung Game Sanctuary in Upper Burma, it is hoped that a few may exist but it is unlikely.

In the Tenasserim District the animal was searched for by Vernay and party in 1928, over a period of three months; permission having been given by Sir Harcourt Butler, then Governor of Burma, to shoot two specimens. Tracks of *sumatrensis* were found, but none of *sondaicus*, and it was concluded that the latter was extinct in Southern Burma. The last specimen shot in the district—in fact in Burma, was obtained by Mr. Theodore Hubback in 1920, near Victoria Point, the extreme southerly point of the country. It is now in the British Museum, and though immature, was a full grown female five feet at the shoulder. According to Pollock and Thom, the Javan rhinoceros must have at one time been widely distributed in Burma.

Siam.

Nothing definite about the existence of *sondaicus* in Siam has been found in any books of reference available to the writer. Mr. William W. Fegan of the "Bangkok Sport and Gossip" has sent (1933) some very interesting remarks on the subject, which may be quoted in full.

"I may state that both the one-horned and two-horned rhinoceros (*R. sondaicus* and *R. sumatrensis*) are to be found

in Siam but, owing to the hunting by the hill tribes both are now extremely rare, so much so that some five years ago the killing of them was prohibited by the government. Their extermination was mainly due to the Chinese for their horns for medicinal purposes, the said horns being probably worth their weight in gold to-day. There has for many years been a special customs duty on them.

As to the one-horned, I have been thirty-three years in this part of the world and have travelled over the major part of Siam and I have never yet met a man, native or European, who has shot one. Some twenty years ago two Europeans, surveyors, in the hilly district near the Three Pagodas, on the Siam-Burma frontier, tried to bag one but failed. It was later on trapped in a pitfall by the neighbouring tribesmen and I saw the horn and strips of the skin which were brought to a place called Kanburi.

In more recent times I have heard of two of the animals having been seen in Eastern Siam, near the Meklong, but know nothing more about them. A Siamese official who had spent some years in this district told me that he had heard of the existence of seven or eight and he knew personally of two of them having been killed. The question of how many of the animals remain alive to-day in Siam is rather a mystery as in reality little interest is taken by the people in natural history and there is no museum here. However, nobody knows what the huge jungle stretches and the plateaux in Eastern Siam really contain in the way of large mammals as travel is difficult in many areas and not too pleasant. About the year 1886 a one-horn was captured and brought alive to Bangkok from a place near Krabin, to the west of the capital. It was kept in captivity here for some time ere it passed out."

A. S. Vernay, the well-known collector of big-game specimens, covered a good area of country, from Central to North-West Siam a few years ago when trying, I believe, to obtain a specimen of Schomburgk's Deer, which are rumoured still to exist, though none have been shot for twenty-five years. During the time he was in the field he could get no information that *sondaicus* was to be found still alive in the district visited.

As will be shown later, this animal is known to exist in the forests of Laos in Indo-China, so that it is more than probable that it may still survive in Eastern Siam. The writer has not been able to locate any museum specimen of *sondaicus* actually killed in Siam. A few years ago I saw a newspaper reference to a young one-horned rhino having been captured in Patani, but it is more than likely it turned out to be a specimen of *sumatrensis*.

Malaya.

Few specimens of the Javan rhinoceros are left in Malaya at the present time. In the state of Perak, at least three are believed to exist in the Erong and Chawang areas, to the west of Trolak. At least one is to be found in the Lekir district, on the other side of the Perak River near Sitiawan. After the shooting of a *sondaicus* in 1928 at Ujong Pematang, a search was made at the instance of the Game Warden in the area between the Selangor and Bernam Rivers. The results were unsatisfactory, but it is believed that the tracks of two were found. These half-dozen are all that are known to exist in the Malay Peninsula. There may be others; it is sad to think there may not be so many.

Major Guy Rowley who was with Vernay when he shot the Sungai Lampan rhino in 1932 had permission to collect what was believed to be a solitary specimen of *sondaicus*, living in the Sungai Bugis area between the Bernam River and the coast. Local opinion, the Hon. Game Warden, Malays and Sakai all believed it to be a one-horned rhinoceros—the tracks were $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins. across; but as is usually the case, no one had actually seen it. In June 1933 he followed it for four days, and it was finally shot while charging two trackers. Identification was therefore impossible and the animal turned out to be a very large specimen of *R. sumatrensis*. This is now in the New York Museum. It is therefore possible that the rhinos in the Erong-Chawang areas, may turn out to be also *sumatrensis*.

We do not know if the Javan rhinoceros was ever numerous in the Malay Peninsula previous to the British occupation of the Straits Settlements. Early Portuguese and Dutch writers refer to the "badaks" to be found inland, and there must have been a continuous trade in rhinoceros horns between the Malays and merchants from China. It appears to have been only during the last twenty-five years or so that the extreme rarity of the animals was noticed. We cannot do better therefore than enumerate briefly all instances of the occurrence of the Javan rhinoceros in Malaya of which a record can be found.

The "Province Wellesley" Rhinoceros.

The earliest specimen that we know of is in the collection of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. Here amongst other skulls they have that of a very young *sondaicus*, killed by the side of its mother, on the Malay Coast opposite Penang, in 1816. Looking over from Penang to the Province Wellesley side at the present time it is hard to imagine that about 120 years ago these rhinos were to be found there.

The "Tahan" Rhinoceros.

The next record, although there is an element of uncertainty about it, is of great interest. The Javan rhinoceros has never been known to occur on the east side of the Malay Peninsula.

Mr. Theodore Hubback, the Hon. Game Warden of Pahang, who knows more of the subject than anyone in the country has for many years tried to get reliable evidence, as to the occurrence of *sondaicus* on the east side of the main range. In his extensive jungle tours he has never come across its tracks, and the Malays and Sakai of Ulu Pahang and Ulu Nenggiri have no knowledge of two different species of rhino. However Mr. Henry N. Ridley at one time of Singapore and compiler of the "Flora of the Malay Peninsula" writes as follows:—

"The Rhinoceros I saw in Pahang was in June, 1891. I took it to be *R. sondaicus* on account of its much larger size and distinctly grey colour. It was lying in bushes by the river bank, and jumped up when it saw me and bolted. The depression it made when lying down was much larger than that of the ordinary *sumatrensis* which is not grey when seen alive. I may say I am still doubtful as to which it was but the Malays affirmed that there were two kinds of rhinoceros there. It was a very large beast. It was up in the Tahan woods district where no European had been before. The common kind *R. sumatrensis* I have often met with, a much smaller beast than this huge fellow. I was alone at the time and about 40 yards from it when I saw it. It did not make the usual cry of *sumatrensis* when startled but simply galloped off."

This statement while not conclusive, is the only case of the possible occurrence of the Javan rhinoceros on the east side of the Peninsula that we know of: for that reason it has been placed on record.

"Temoh" Rhinos.

In the '90s. Mr. G. W. F. Curtis, who was a settlement officer in Perak, shot more than one *Rhinoceros sondaicus* near Temoh. The skulls of these animals are believed to be in the Kuala Lumpur Museum.

"Batu Gajah" Rhinos.

Mr. B. H. F. Barnard, for many years a Forest Officer in Malaya, writing in the "Malayan Forester" for July 1932 instances the shooting of two rhinos in 1897 by Mr. F. J. Weld formerly of the Malay Civil Service. This was at a spot about three miles from Batu Gajah on the road to Gopeng, in Kinta. He got them both in a morning. He had a shot at a rhino, it made off and he followed it. Soon after he came upon a rhino and killed it with another shot. Not finding any mark of his previous bullet he concluded that he must have encountered two animals and this proved to be correct as following up the tracks of the first he found the dead body soon afterwards. These are believed by Mr. Barnard to have been the Javan rhinoceros. From the locality it is more than likely that they were. What happened to the trophies is not known.

The "Sungai Palawan" Rhinoceros.

In the same paper Mr. Barnard describes how he and his brother Mr. H. C. Barnard shot a male of the species in 1898 on the Sungai Palawan near Chikus, Lower Perak. At that time, of course, the country around here was mostly virgin forest and practically uninhabited, as a great deal of it is to-day. Looking for Seladang they came across the rhino tracks. They followed him all the morning and eventually, a little after midday, found him standing in a pool of mud in which he had been wallowing. The wallow was evidently one that had been used for a long time, and the absence of undergrowth and small trees let in more light than usually gets through the overhead cover in the forest. As Mr. Barnard describes it :—

" My brother fired and there was a loud snort and a rush. A moment later I saw the rhino standing about twenty yards away on our left. Whether this rush was meant for a charge or not, it is impossible to say. If it was so meant it was a very bad shot. He was broadside on and as he stood throwing his great head up and down, he was a very fine sight. He made no apparent attempt to move and two more shots brought him down. Curiously enough he did not fall on his side, but collapsed in an upright position with his hind legs under him and his nose resting on his forelegs."

The head was taken, the four feet and the tail, and eventually sent to England ; this trophy is still in existence and will possibly some day get to a museum. The animal was a big male, over eleven feet in length and over five feet at the shoulder. The horn was seven and a half inches. Barnard states :—

" At the time of the incident here recorded there was nothing to suggest that *R. sondaicus* was becoming rare. Had we known the true state of things we should perhaps have left this one in peace and he might, for another thirty-four years, have kept company with Mr. Vernay's old lady."

The "Pinji" Rhinoceros.

In 1899, the famous "Pinji" rhinoceros was shot by Sir George W. Maxwell in the Pinji Valley, not a great distance from the Lahat Railway Station, in Kinta. The classic description of its exploits and the shooting of this animal may be read in Maxwell's. "In Malay Forests" a delightful little book published by Blackwood that one is never tired of re-reading. The old rhino had made his abode in the Pinji Valley and had been the terror of the district long before the British occupation of Perak in 1874. It was a "kramat" animal impossible to kill and had killed at least three men on three separate occasions. All this is related in the story. It seldom left a circumscribed area of some forty square miles, and though many had tried to kill it it appeared to be invulnerable. We hear how a "pawang" made

a feast and invoked the Earth Spirits, asking them to give up the rhinoceros and to accept compensation. Starting from Gunong Kroh a big limestone hill not many miles south of Ipoh, the animal was followed for two whole days, was shot at more than once, and was finally killed on the third day not far from the Pinji village. The animal measured five feet five and a half inches at the shoulder, but this measurement taken when dead hardly did it justice. The horn was only 7 or 8 inches, a shapeless lump. The head of this famous beast may be seen in the Selangor Museum at Kuala Lumpur.

"Dindings" Rhinos.

Writing in the "Times of Malaya" 9th Aug. 32, Mr. Granville M. O'Hara states that in 1905, while stationed in the Dindings as a Forest Officer, he had the good fortune to be present at the trapping of a one-horned rhinoceros. He wrote an article "Trapping of Rhinoceros in the Dindings, Straits Settlements." for the Indian Forester of July 1907. This describes how the animal was captured and removed from the depths of the jungle to the river bank by making it travel on foot carrying its own cage. Observations on the commercial value of the urine, dung, horns, etc., to the Chinese for medicinal purposes are all of considerable interest. Mr. O'Hara further states that when in the Dindings and the Bruas district of Perak, between 1905 and 1921, he met with no less than four of the one-horned variety and only one specimen of *sumatrensis*. It may be mentioned here that some thirty years ago or so, rhinoceroses were not uncommon in the Dindings district, and were often trapped by the Malays. It was commonly supposed that they were all *sumatrensis* and there is still a small number of them left there. The captured Javan rhinoceros mentioned above was sold at Penang to a Mohammedan merchant for the sum of S. \$200. It was resold for S. \$500 to another merchant in Singapore. It was later said to have been sent to Madras and sold there for Rs. 1,500. In 1907 the Government of the Straits Settlements made an order prohibiting the catching of rhinoceroses in the Dindings. This was undertaken at the request of the Singapore Museum authorities.

The "Kuala Serukai" Rhinoceros.

In April 1924, a cow *Rhinoceros sondaicus* was killed at Kuala Serukoi near Telok Anson in Perak. It made an attack on a Chinese coolie who was tapping jelutong in the forest. He was charged three times, tossed, and chased into the coolie lines. She was supposed to have killed a man earlier. Being, supposedly, a menace to the district, she was shot by a planter. As he was an unlicensed hunter and the matter had not been reported to the authorities, on news of the incident being received, the head skin and skull were confiscated and are now in the Selangor Museum. Soon after this Mr. E. Seimund in his capacity as Game Warden, visited the scene of the kill. I believe he found

tracks of another adult and a calf, which if true, proves that *sondaicus* may have been breeding in the Malay Peninsula within no distant period.

The statement that the coolie was tossed by the rhino is of interest, if correct. Unlike the African rhinoceros, the Asiatic animal does not gore with his horn, but inflicts terrible bites with its razor-edged teeth. The horn of the Asiatic rhinoceros is, as a rule, only used for grubbing up roots; when they wish to attack they use their incisors, which with them answer much the same purpose as the tushes of a boar. They can inflict a clean deep cut, and they appear at certain seasons to fight amongst themselves, as both males and females have been killed scored all over.

The "Ujong Permatang" Rhinoceros.

In January 1928, a Police Officer stationed at Kuala Selangor at the mouth of the Selangor River heard reports of an enormous animal that was destroying the Chinese gardens in the Ujong Permatang district some five miles to the north and on the other side of the river. It was said to have walked right through a Chinese kongsi house and to have caused considerable alarm in the locality. He therefore obtained the permission of the District Officer to shoot it. With an orderly he went out to search for it and on the same morning came across the animal bogged in one of the Government drains. He destroyed it with a shot gun. He took the head as a trophy and it was only later that when seen in a taxidermist's shop in Klang by Mr. P. R. Kemp that it was recognised as *sondaicus*. When the matter was reported to the Hon. Game Warden, he made, quite rightly, a considerable to-do about it, and the head was confiscated. It can now be seen in the police mess at Kuala Lumpur. It was certainly unfortunate that an animal of such rarity should have in ignorance been destroyed. An amusing feature of the affair was that hundreds of Chinese fell upon the remains and cut it up, collecting the blood and flesh as "obat" or medicine. During the ensuing week or so, the police officer who shot the beast informed me there were continual rows and several court cases amongst the Chinese bargaining and quarrelling over the remains.

The "Sungei Lampan" Rhino.

The last animal of this species to be shot in Malaya was obtained in January, 1932, on the Sungai Lampan near Degong and Telok Anson, Perak. Mr. A. S. Vernay of London and New York, whose collections in the Faunthorpe-Vernay Galleries in the New York Museum are well known to naturalists, had for long wished to obtain specimens of this scarce animal for both the British Museum and for the Natural History Museum in New York. Mr. Vernay had already been to considerable expense in his endeavour to collect a specimen in the Tenasserim District of Lower Burma with no success however. The Game Department

of Malaya, where wild life is steadily decreasing, does not give licenses freely. In the interests of the British Museum, the Chief Secretary of the Federated Malay States, on the recommendation of Mr. Theodore Hubback, gave his consent to the collection of a specimen, if one could be found isolated and incapable of reproducing its species. Such an animal was known to the Game Department to have lived for many years isolated from others, in the neighbourhood of Telok Anson. It followed a fairly restricted area south of the Kroh Forest Reserve, and more or less west of Degong Railway Station. Vernay was accompanied by Major Guy Rowley a well known big-game hunter. Captain Beresford Holloway who made an excellent collection of interesting specimens for the British Museum came out at the same time. Mr. W. E. MacNaught, the Game Warden of Perak, with his assistants organised the arrangements in Malaya and the camp was made at Sungai Samak not far from Degong.

Three days after making camp, the party set out at 7 a.m. and fresh tracks were found and followed through dense and difficult jungle. At 10.30 a.m. the rhino was discovered in a dense thicket of bush and cane-brake at about eight yards. The head was seen, the stump of horn giving the impression that it was a male beast, as in this species the horn is usually absent in the female. The animal was killed by a bullet in the skull, with a second shot behind the shoulder for safety. It travelled in a half-circle for some forty yards and dropped dead; when to everyone's surprise it was found to be an immense cow, measuring five feet three inches at the shoulder and ten feet eight inches over all. The skeleton was sent home with the skin which was set up by Rowland Ward and is now to be seen in the British Museum. Immediately after the killing of the animal, the skin and flesh were removed under the direction of an Indian taxidermist lent by the Bombay Museum. A number of Sakai assisted and so heavy was the skin that it had to be brought out of the forest in two parts. The writer was fortunate in seeing the party going into the forest and returning a few days later with the trophies. It formed a most impressive sight, to see a long line of Sakai passing one after the other through the jungle headed by Vernay the skin in two parts carried on long bamboo poles on their shoulders under the charge of Hartley, the assistant Game Warden with at long last Major Rowley bringing up the rear. At the 11-Mile on the Degong Road, all the Sakai were paid off and the skin taken to the Kampar Rest House. Vernay was taking no chances with the local Chinese and a Malay Ranger lay all night under the skin at the Rest House with a drawn "parang".

It is very surprising that this great mammal had existed so long in this locality actually being killed within four miles of the town of Telok Anson, where tea parties and tennis are in full swing. While the skin of the rhinoceros was being hung up for the night at the Rest House 100 yards away, music and dancing

were to be heard at a Kampar Club night; a contrast between the modern and the primitive, that one often notices in Malaya.

The one-horned rhinoceros has been variously known to the Malays as the "badak raya", "badak gajah" or the "badak sumbu". The two-horned rhino, is known as the "badak kerbau" or the "badak himpit". Maxwell also states that Malays divide rhinoceroses into four classes, according to their horns. There is the one known as "sumbu lilin", the wax-coloured horn; "sumbu api", the flame-coloured horn; "sumbu nila", the blue horn; and lastly, "sumbu hitam", the ordinary black horn.

Sumatra.

The occurrence of the Javan rhinoceros in the island of Sumatra, was first noted by Desmarest in 1822. Up till lately it was doubted that the animal was indigenous, a suspicion now proved to be ill-founded.

De Beaufort, 1928, gives an account of a complete specimen presented to the Zoological Museum of Amsterdam. This was procured by a Mr. Keith, 250 kilometers south-west of Palembang in Sumatra. The same writer, in summarising notes on the range of the species, mentions that according to P. Vageler, a big-game hunter, one, J.C. Hazewinkel, killed in Sumatra, no less than seven. These were at first supposed to be a new variety, but proved in fact to be identical with the Javan rhinoceros.

In the "Illustrated London News" of Dec. 23rd 1933 is a most interesting account by Mynheer Hazewinkel himself, of the shooting of a big bull *sondaicus*; the first he says of seven shot by him. These animals are now of course closely protected. Hazewinkel states that the Chinese would gladly pay up to Fl. 1,500 for a skin of *sondaicus* and a horn might fetch up to 4,000 guilders—nearly £500. The two-horned *R. sumatrensis* not being so valuable would fetch only one-tenth of the above prices. The species still occurs in some localities in South Sumatra in Palembang, but is very rare there.

Java.

The Javan rhinoceros is still to be found in the country, although with the enormous population of this small island, it is surprising. Dr. Dammerman, director of the Zoological Museum at Buitenzorg, was good enough to send the following definite information to the writer, :—

"The species is now rare in Java: a few are said to live in the district south of Tasikmalaja (C. Java) and a few others south of Bantam (W. Java), whereas a dozen or more are found in Oedjoengkoelon, the peninsula at the extreme western part of South Java. This peninsula has been set apart as a special reserve for the Java rhino."

"Both species of rhinoceros (*R. sondaicus* and *sumatrensis*) are now absolutely protected and the export both of living specimens and of skins or other body parts is prohibited."

The last example of the Javan rhinoceros that was kept alive in the Zoological Gardens in London, was purchased from Jamrach in 1874, the locality being given as Batavia. This was probably the only specimen really of that species they ever had in their collection.

Indo-China.

The writer's attention was first drawn to the occurrence of *Rhinoceros sondaicus* in Indo-China by a letter written to the "Straits Times", in March 1932, by M. E. M. de Villa of Hanoi. Indo-China being only a short distance away, the writer had the intention of visiting the country and making enquiries at first hand. A change of venue, however, from the equator to the Balkans has unfortunately prevented this. All that could be done was to make exhaustive enquiries by correspondence. M.M. the Residents and Administrateurs of the different districts and provinces were written to and with the greatest courtesy replied; most interesting information being given, with considerable detail.

M. de Villa writes as follows:—

"The one-horned rhinoceros (monocorne) is still to be found in several parts of Indo-China, being fairly well represented on both sides of the great Annamite Range, and both north and south of it. The animal lives in marshy bush and thick forest undergrowth, where the rattan-cane makes fast walking impossible and tracking very difficult and dangerous. The average size is about 7 feet in height and 11 feet in length. The single horn attains a length of about 3 feet on the male. The two-horned (bicorne) rhinoceros is unknown in this country, but on one occasion a hunter shot a small rhinoceros which had one horn perfectly developed and had a second embryo horn. I am not sure about the elevation preferred by this animal. It is known and hunted on the Dar Lac Plateau at an elevation of about 3,000 feet, and last year some natives invited me to hunt a party of four rhinos near Cua Rao, about 100 feet above sea level. Rhinoceros and elephants appear to be found in the same hunting country, and both are met with between Kratie and Sung Treng, south of Saravane (in Cambodia—to the east of the Mekong) and in many places in Laos. On the west side of the Mekong, south of Oubon, in Siamese Laos, there is the 'Pass of Elephants and Rhinoceros'. The horn and feet of a rhinoceros are worth about \$2,000 which probably explains why so few specimens find their way to museums."

M. le Résident Supérieur au Cambodge, writing from Phnom-Penh states that enquiries gave the impression that there were no rhinos existing in Cambodia. During the last two years only two specimens, probably from Laos, had been seen by natives in the Kompong-Thom region. This is in Cambodia to the east of the Tonlé Sap lake.

M. Antoine Lagreze, the Résident at Vinh in Northern Annam, who evidently knows something of the subject has written in some detail and summarises from his knowledge that several specimens still exist in the dense forests separating the provinces of Vinh and Thanh-Hoa, in northern Annam. Also in the forests between the province of Luang-Prabang and the Vème military territory. The writer states that during 1924 he located a band of rhinos in the province of Sam-Nua where formerly they abounded. By the appearance of the tracks, they had only been there some eight hours before. They were followed for several days without success and a bout of fever interrupted the hunt. Fifty years ago these animals were numerous in the Annamite Chain and in the forests of Nord-Annam and Haut-Laos. They have been destroyed by the Meos, a mountain people who have immigrated from China in recent times. The Meos hunters search for them for the horn, used as a medicine. The value of the horns was so great that they figured in the tribute sent by the king of Luang-Prabang every year to the Emperor of China and the Emperor of Annam. At the present time in the royal marriages of Luang-Prabang a rhino horn frequently figures in the dowry of the young princesses.

Professeur Bourret, a well-known zoologist, of the " Direction de L'Instruction Publique " writing from Hanoi is certain of the existence of two species of Rhino, *sondaicus* and *sumatrensis*, in the south of Indo-China; and of *sondaicus* as far north as Tonkin where it has recently been killed in the province of Son La. As an instance of the nomadic tendencies of the animal he calls attention to " Les grandes chasses en Indochine " of Bordeneuve, who quotes the case of one killed in N. E. Laos at Trannih that carried a ball almost certainly fired from Bengal.

Bourret maintains that *sondaicus* occurs or has been found in Cochin China, Siam, Laos and Cambodia. It has been killed in La Nha, also at Bien-Hoá at Cap St. Jacques not far from Saigon, in the south of Cambodia. Also in the region of Xieng-Khouang in Tran Ninh, North-east Laos; and is probably found to the west of the Annamite Chain. Few scientific details are known but only references in the reminiscences of hunters. He estimates that perhaps 30 of the one-horned rhinos have been killed in Indo-China by European hunters since 1900. About 1900, two skulls were sent home from Bien-Hoá to the Paris Museum,—these appear to be the only specimens of *sondaicus* from Indo-China in any Museum. A one-horned rhino was seen in 1934 at Son La in Tonkin, where a native chief also possesses a skull

from the district. *R. sumatrensis* is also known in Cambodia and on the Annamite Chain; it has been seen several times, but seems to be more scarce here than the other. No museum in Indo-China appears to have any trophies of the Javan rhinoceros.

M. J. Loupy, Commissaire du Gouvernement at Luangprabang in Laos, from enquiries from native authorities, thinks that no rhino has been met with during the last five years in the Kingdom of Luangprabang. There are many stories current about them and natives affirm that they exist, but they are unable to give a single case of their capture or killing.

The Gouverneur Général himself was good enough to institute enquiries and through his good offices His Excellency Tiao Phetsarath, Native Inspector of Political and Administrative Affairs in Laos was able to send information of considerable interest. Both species of rhino are evidently known in Laos; the one-horned being known to the natives as "Sou" and the other two-horned as "Het". During the last few years, the only rhino he knew of that had been killed was at Traninh in January 1925, within three hours of the waterfall along the road from Zieng-Khouang to Vinh. None were known to have been captured for a long period.

Bordeneuve in "Les Grandes Chasses en Indochine" states that these animals are very scarce. In 1899 he came across three rhinos, male, female and young, near the confluence of the Song-Dinh and the Song-Ray. In the following year 1900 he was told by the Cham mountaineers that the Siamese has killed a rhino within two kilometers of Tan-Linh. He considers that from the hunters point of view, the most likely place to find rhino is in South Indo-China: the country between Attopeau, the Mekong, North Cambodia and south of the Stien country. He gives the following names for *R. sondaicus*.—Annamite, "Con-Tay"; Siamese, "Herse"; Cambodian, "Lam-mia"; and Malay "Ha-rang".

From the above it will be seen that there is little doubt that *R. sondaicus* exists in Indo-China, but in ever decreasing numbers. It is surprising that there do not appear to be any specimens from Indo-China in museums in Paris, Saigon or elsewhere: with the exception of the two skulls sent from Bien-Hoá. Many of these animals must have been killed by native hunters in the past, and owing to the value of the trophies the affair was kept quiet. In the translation of Henri Mouhot's book on "Travels in Indo-China" published in 1864 by John Murray, there is an interesting account of a rhinoceros hunt. Vol. II p. 147-148. A description is given of a Laotian chief killing a one-horned rhino by pushing a bamboo spear into its mouth. This occurred near the village of Na-Lě to the east of Louangprabang. An illustration drawn from a sketch made by

Mouhot distinctly shows only one horn and the saddle over the back of the neck which is so characteristic of *sondaicus*.

Borneo.

There has always been an element of doubt about the statement that *R. sondaicus* exists in the island of Borneo. Natives speak of the occurrence of a one-horned rhino as they do also of a Wild dog and Goat. Their rhino may well be a young *sumatrensis*. Everett, in P.Z.S. 1893 I believe records the finding of parts of a rhino skeleton in Upper Sarawak, the teeth belonging to *sondaicus* and the bones to *sumatrensis*; a mystery that we shall not be able to clear up.

All the parts seen by Mr. E. Banks, Curator of the Sarawak Museum at Kuching were of *sumatrensis* and he does not believe that *sondaicus* really exists in Borneo. The Dyaks make or have made a very good thing out of hunting *sumatrensis* for sale to the Chinese.

Yunnan and Kwang-Si.

As these provinces of China are adjacent to Burma and Tonkin it is possible that *R. sondaicus* may have occurred there or at least visited these countries. Knowing the value the Chinese place on the trophies, it may be supposed that any rhino so ill-advised as to enter these provinces would not remain alive very long.

It must be remembered that all statements of the occurrence of *sondaicus* are open to doubt, though given in good faith. The identification of the species can only be accepted from persons competent to give an opinion on the matter. It sometimes happens that the second horn of *Rhinoceros sumatrensis* has been broken off, and in any case natives cannot by any means distinguish between the two species. In fact, the animal can only be definitely identified when a specimen has been shot and examined at close quarters. The tracks of *sondaicus* as seen in the jungle are, however, very much larger than those of an adult *sumatrensis* and they can usually be distinguished by those who have seen the tracks of the two animals.

**Approximate Estimate of the Number of Living Specimens of
Rhinoceros sondaicus at the present time.**

Country.	Number alive.	Locality.
Bengal ..	Extinct.	
Assam ..	Probably Extinct.	
Burma ..	4	Kahilu Game Sanctuary.
Federated Malay States	3	Erong and Chawang Area, Perak.
	1	Lekir District, Perak.
	2	Kuala Selangor—Bernam River District, Selangor.
Sumatra ..	a few 6 say	Palambang.
Java ..	a few 6 say	S. of Tasikmalaja
	a few 6 say	S. of Bantam.
	12	Oedjoengkoelon Peninsula.
Siam ..	8	Siamese Laos near the Meklong.
Indo-China	2	Cambodia.
	a few 6 say	Northern Annam.
	a few 6 say	Luang Prabang District, Northern Laos.
	1	Tonkin.
	3 say	South Laos.
Borneo ..	Probably non-existent.	
Yunnan and Kwang-Si	No records.	
Total ..	66	

As the above can only be a very approximately estimate, founded upon doubtful data we would probably be correct in stating that probably less than 70 and more than 40 of these rare mammals are in existence at the present day. Owing to slow breeding, the encroachment of agricultural land and the destruction by unauthorised hunters, it seems that this unfortunate animal will not exist long except in the Peninsula of Oedjoengkoelon in West Java where a dozen or more exist in a small area and are all closely protected. If they increase sufficiently to carry on the species for another hundred years remains to be seen.

LIST OF RHINOCEROS SONDAICUS SPECIMENS TO BE
FOUND IN MUSEUMS AND ELSEWHERE.

Stuffed Specimens.	Skeletons.	Heads.	Skulls.	Locality.	Museum.
	1			Sumatra	Amsterdam
	2		2	Unknown	Zoolog : Museum.
	1		3	Java	Berlin. Zoolog : Museum
1M 1F	1	2M	1	Sumatra	der Universitat.
			5	Java	Java. Buitenzorg
1F 2 ..	5		2	Unknown	Museum
			1	Bengal	
			1	Burma	Calcutta. Indian Museum
			1	Java	
	4		4	Unknown	
1 ..			1	Java	Cambridge. Mass : Museum of Compar :
					Zoology.
			1	Sumatra	Cleveland. Ohio.
		1M 1F			Western Reserve
					University.
		1M		F.M.S.	Kuala Lumpur.
					F.M.S. Museum.
		1		F.M.S.	England ?
					Mrs. Barnard.
1M 1F 1Y					Kuala Lumpur.
2M ..	1		2	Unknown	Police Mess.
				Unknown	Leiden Museum.
1F ..				Burma	Leningrad. Museum of
1Y ..				Bengal	Academy of Sciences.
1F ..	1		1	Java	
	1			F.M.S.	London. British Museum.
			1	Sumatra	
			2	Unknown	
			1	Bengal	London. Royal College of
			1	Straits	Surgeons.
				Settles	
			6	Unknown	
1Y ..			6	Unknown	Melbourne.
1 ..					National Museum of
					Victoria.
			2	Java	Paris. National
	3			Indo-China	Museum of National
1 ..				Unknown	History.
				Java	Stockholm.
					Riksmuseum.
			1	Java	Washington.
					U.S.A. National
			1	Indo-China	Museum.
					Son-La. Tonking
Y1 ..				Java	Native Chief.
					Mus. Nat. Hist. Vienna

18 20 6 40

For the greater part of the above list we are indebted to Barbour and Allen, *Journal of Mammalogy*, Vol. 13, May, 1932; who have supplied the fullest information hitherto available on the subject.

Literature that may be referred to in connection with *Rhinoceros sondaicus* is cited here. It is not of course complete as there are many other books and papers containing more or less information about this animal and its geographical distribution.

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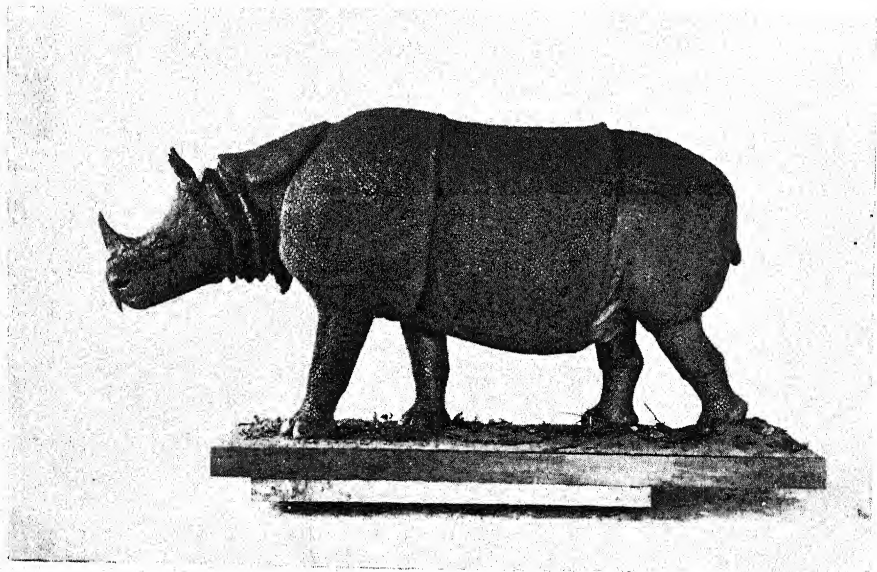
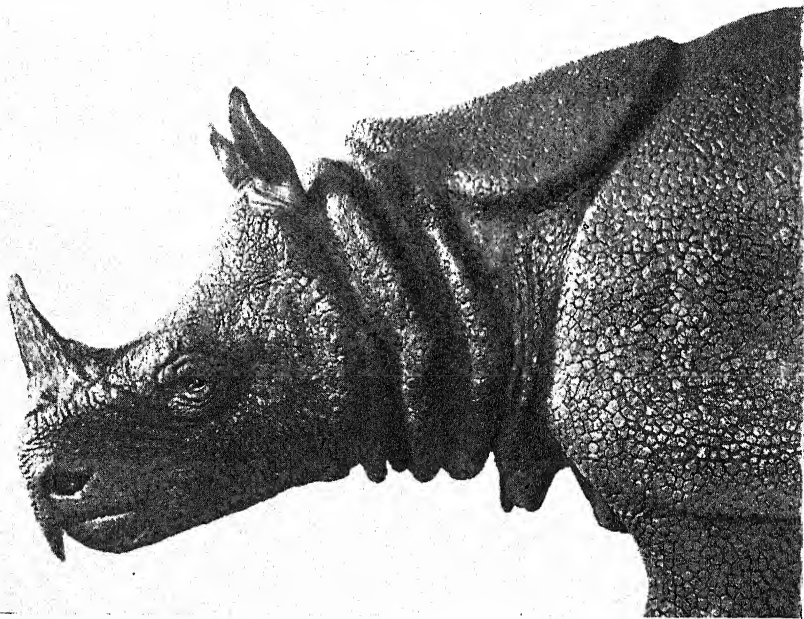
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A female *Rhinoceros sondaicus*, the "Sungai Lampan Rhino.," shot by Mr. A. S. Vernay, Jan. 1932 in the Kroh Forest, Perak. Now in the British Museum of Natural History.

(Photo. kindly supplied by the Museum.)



A male *Rhinoceros sondaicus* from Java. Shot 31-1-1934. Now in the Zoological Museum, Buitenzorg.

(Photo. by Mr. P. F. Franck kindly supplied by the Director of the Museum.)

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NOTES ON THE MEANINGS OF SOME MALAY WORDS.

By J. A. BAKER.

Since the publication of the second edition of Wilkinson's "Malay-English Dictionary" in 1932, this admirable work has been constantly used by me and from time to time words have been found of which the definitions given have seemed to be imperfect. I have thought it worth while to make notes of such words and of the senses in which I have heard them used, and the following list is given in the hope that others will state whether the meanings here given are, in their experience, correct.

Antah.—Wilkinson says "I Husk; sheath (of grain); — (Min. *atah*). The pieces of dry husk shaken off in the process of winnowing; the dust is *dēmukut*, *lukut*, *mēlukut*, *lēmukut*, *kēmukut*; whence *a. dēmukut* represents all so shaken off and is symbolical of the second-rate, but not of the worthless since gruel is made of it. On the other hand wet-rice (off which the husk cannot be winnowed — *di-indang ta' berantah*) typifies "what you can do nothing with". All Malays whom I have asked, have given the meaning of *antah* as "grains of unhusked *padi* which remain in the *bēras* after pounding (*tumbok*)" and say that the expression *di-indang ta' bērantah* refers to the separation of this grain from the *bēras* proper by jerking in a tray. The distinction is well seen in the proverb:

Bēras basah di-tampi ta'bērlayang, di-indang ta' bērantah, hujung-nya tiada di-sudu oleh itek.

The meaning of this is given by Hose ("Malay Proverbs" 1933) as follows: "If you winnow wet rice the chaff won't fly, if you sift it the grain and husk won't separate, last of all even ducks won't touch it." The correct meaning of *di-indang ta' bērantah* would appear to be "When jerked in a tray the rice will not separate from the unhusked grains."

The two words applied to the husk or hull of *padi* are *sēkam* (coarse) and *dēdak* (fine = polishings).

Confirming the above interpretation Dr. O. Blagden has been good enough to supply me with the following definitions taken from other works:

- (a) *antah*; non bien décortiqué; *bērantah*, qui n'est pas bien décortiqué;; *bras bērantah*, riz qui n'a pas été assez pilé [Abbe P. Favre, Dictionnaire Malais-Français, Vienne, 1875. Tome I]

As Blagden points out the meaning here given is similar to that which I have mentioned except that Favre appears to regard the word as an adjective.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XV, Part II,

- (b) *antah*, ongefelde rijstkorrel onder de gefelde korrels, rijst in den bolster zonder stengel. [S. Van Ronkel, Maleisch Woordenboek, 3^e druk, Den Haag, 1930].
- (c) Winstedt's English-Malay Dictionary, 1922, p. 378 gives *sub.* Rice, Husked "badly sifted with some husked grains left, *bĕras antah*", where "husked" clearly means "in the husk", his definition thus coinciding with mine.

Jĕlantah.—Wilkinson says: "Half-boiled; under-cooked. Cf. *Lantah*, *bĕlantah* and *mĕntah*. Also (Java) cooked with over-much oil." I have heard this word used in two senses differing somewhat from Wilkinson's definition though one of them is closely related:

- (a) cooked rice (*nasi*) which contains a number of hard grains.
- (b) *padi* containing a large number of empty grains (*biji hampa*).

[Negri Sembilan] Cf. *mantah* "unripe".

If these meanings are substantiated it would seem that in both *antah* and *jĕlantah* there is an underlying idea of heterogeneity. It is, of course, quite possible that all three meanings are in use in different parts of the country.

Bĕrnas.—Wilkinson gives "Sprouting finely (of young rice)-Ch. Jen. 34 promising well (of any seedlings); fast developing (of a skin eruption); inflated (of the bladder)" In Negri Sembilan (where the pronunciation is roughly *bĕrneh*) I found that it was most often applied to ripening *padi* to indicate well-filled grains. Winstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 378 defines it "good grain", and also gives "Plump of a child *bĕrnas*," p. 339.

Api-Api.—Wilkinson (under *api*) gives "II *api-api*: a mangrove-class (Loranthaceae); *Avicennia* spp., esp. *A. officinalis*." I imagine this to be a clerical or printer's error and that the intended reading was "a mangrove-class (*Avicennia* spp); various Loranthaceae". The name *api-api* is applied to certain well-known mangrove trees of the genus *Avicennia* and to certain parasitic Loranthaceae but no mangrove trees belong to the latter family [vide Watson "Malayan Forest Records—Mangrove Forests of the Malay Peninsula" 1928 pp. 22-23].

Sidang.—Wilkinson gives: "III (Pk., Pah.) Settling down to an even downpour of heavy rain. Cf. *sĕriat*, *rĕda*"

The meaning which I have heard (and confirmed by enquiry) is "to stop raining" or "to abate" (of rain); *i.e.* the same meaning as that given by Wilkinson for *rĕda*, with which word, I have always been informed, it is synonymous (though here 1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

again there may be local differences of interpretation.) Winstedt's English-Malay Dictionary, Singapore 1922, under Abate gives " of rain *rēda*, *tēdoh*, in violence but not stopping *sīdang* Pk., Pah., *sēriat* Pk., Pen." Wilkinson appears to have omitted a comma after "downpour".

Harus.—Wilkinson gives the meanings of "current", and of "Fitting", "proper", "right". Another very common (colloquial) use of 'harus' is in the sense of "probably".

Harus-lah sahaya akan datang.

I shall probably come.

I am not aware that this very common usage is regarded as slang.

Sēdang.—Apart from three other quite distinct meanings of this word Wilkinson gives: "IV In despite of, although: *s. ia pērēmpuan* (though a woman); *sēdangkan binatang lagi sa-kian ia bērkaseh-kasehan laki-bini* (though mere animals the pair so loved each other) Ht. Abd. 62."

Though these uses are common it would seem that the definition should be extended to include such cases as the following (where the translation "in despite of" or 'although' cannot be used).

Usahkan gēmalā hikmat itu, sēdangkan nyawa badan patek lagi sudah tērsērāh = not only the bezoar, even my body and soul have been surrendered.

(*Hik. Hang Tuah*, publ. Methodist Publishing House p. 5.)

This example is given in Winstedt's Malay Grammar, 2nd Ed., Oxford 1927, p. 157.

For perhaps none of the words above (with the exception of *antah*) can the meanings put forward lay greater claim to representation than those given in Wilkinson's Dictionary. Some at least require confirmation. I am indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt for some helpful notes on several of the words mentioned.

STUDY OF LOCAL SINGAPORE TIDES.

By Capt. G. F. LEECHMAN.

In making an analysis of the tidal effects in the Port of Singapore the *importance of the moon's influence* must be stressed even more than when considering those of ports in more Northern latitudes. Two causes contribute to make this necessary, the first being that places near the equator find the moon sometimes to the north of them and sometimes to the south, so that the lunar tidal wave peak passes directly through the locality twice a month ; the second being that the direct influence of the primary tides generated in the belt of oceans surrounding the globe to the south of Australia, Africa and America, is felt more strongly than in places situated in the latitude of the British Isles. It may be as well then to recall that in the study of the tides it is usual to imagine a world covered with a uniform envelope of water and having a single satellite, the moon, moving round it once a day, the sun being left out of consideration for the moment. The result will be two tidal peaks, one (the "superior") raised directly under the moon, and the other (the "inferior") diametrically opposite to it. Now the moon follows the annual path of the sun in the heavens, completing a revolution every month (approximately) that is to say that for one week the moon travels south from the equator to latitude 28° S., then it returns and comes north for two weeks until it reaches 28° N. latitude, when it recedes and completes the cycle. The effect of this is that the tidal peak is sometimes greatest in latitude 28° S. sometimes in 28° N. and at other times in some other latitude between these limits. Now if the moon is at its maximum altitude at a certain place, no allowance being made for lagging or other complicating factors, it will be high water at that place, and, if that place is in latitude 20° N. and the moon is 20° N. of the equator in the course of its monthly progression, it will be a higher high water than if the moon were 20° S. ; for when 20° N. the moon would pass directly overhead, while if 20° S. its maximum altitude, when on the meridian would be 40° from the zenith.

To take another view, we get a belt of high water round the earth, from north to south, all places on the belt having the moon on the meridian, but that place directly under the moon, "A", and its antipode "B", have the tide higher than anywhere else. The belt is, as it were elliptical, not circular, and the major axis of the ellipse points through B and A to the moon. This phenomenon is not to be confused with spring or neap tides, or with the diurnal effect, to be explained immediately, but is solely dependent on the moon's monthly revolution North and South of the equator. From this follows a simple review of the diurnal effect. We have seen that at a certain place "A" in latitude 20° N. and at its antipode "B" (in lat. 20° S.) it is high water under the conditions

stated. Now consider the position twelve hours later, the elliptical belt remaining so that the moon is in its plane, the earth turns half a rotation so that the antipode "B" has the moon at maximum altitude but while the latitude of the antipode is 20° S. the moon's distance from the equator is still approximately 20° N. so that the tide will not be quite so high, for the moon instead of being overhead will have an elevation of only 60° , this is the diurnal effect. Diurnal, because the period of the cycle of changes is one day, during which we experience a high and low water of greater range followed by a high and low water of lesser extent. When the moon is on the equator the effect will of course disappear, for all places and their antipodes will be equidistant from the moon at each rotation of the earth, so their distance from the peak of the lunar tide wave will be equal, and their tides of the same height. A similar effect must of course be attributed to the sun, although of lesser force since the magnitude of the solar tides is approximately only $\frac{3}{7}$ ths of that of the lunar tide. It must also be understood that the lunar and solar tides do not travel round the earth as separate waves, but coalesce, forming a single resultant crest with properties derived from both its constituents. This single crest will, of course not be directly under the moon, partly on account of the resistance afforded by the water to change of form, but chiefly because it must take a resultant position according to the radial angle at the earth's centre between the sun and the moon. If the sun is to the west of the moon, the tide will be drawn forward, or "primed", to the west and high water will occur earlier, on the other hand, when the sun is to the east of the moon, *e.g.*, before new moon, the tide will be retarded to the East, or "lag" and high water be experienced later. (The maximum interval of priming or lagging is found to be 51 minutes). It should be observed that the combined wave cannot attain large proportions near the equator on account of the interference of the Continents, but the Southern Ocean it has an uninterrupted path, and hence the primary tides are generated there, from whence derived waves move up the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans, giving the ultimate tidal effects throughout the world. The derived wave takes about two days and a half to reach Singapore, on account of the protection afforded by the islands to the South and East, this explaining why spring tides occur about two days after new or full moon. We are now in a position to examine the various effects observed in this locality, and to trace their causes, with the object of applying the results in the prediction of future states of the tidal stream. From a consideration of the foregoing, it is evident that one of the outstanding features of the local tides will be a monthly cycle depending upon the lunar declination (*i.e.* "latitude") which varies, as we have seen, between 28° N. and 28° S. During this interval we shall experience two periods of maximum declination effect and two with none, (when the moon passes over the equator), two groups of spring tides, and two of

neaps, each of these four pairs having one member more pronounced than the other. The influence of the declination causing diurnal inequality will be greater when the solar effect combines with the lunar effect, that is, in the fortnight when these bodies are both North or both South and no diurnal inequality will be felt when both sun and moon are near the equator. Greater spring tides will be experienced when the sun and moon are in conjunction, since the superior solar wave will combine with the superior lunar wave, and not with the inferior, as it does when sun and moon are in opposition. These differences however, are readily recognisable in the Admiralty Tide Tables, and as they do not affect the direction or rate of the tidal stream to any considerable extent, but only its height, we may set them aside and continue from the point that there are four periods in the monthly cycle, due respectively to the diurnal inequality caused by the sun and moon being sometimes North and sometimes South of the equator and the semi-diurnal tidal effect of sun and moon together, producing a superior and inferior high and low water every day, spring or neap according to the age of the moon.

We have therefore in the Straits of Singapore, two sets of tidal streams, one of these in a twelve hour period (six hours to the East, six hours to the West), the other in a twenty four hour period (twelve hours to the East, and twelve to the West), these two streams sometimes combining, when strong ebbs and floods will be experienced, and sometimes opposing, and to some extent neutralising each other. If curves be drawn for the observed stream under various suitable condition, by analysis, two primary sets of figures may be obtained, which may be applied to show the *actual force and direction of the stream* at any required time. Such primary sets are shown in graphic form as inset.

Curve B indicates the mean maximum declination effect, varying from 1.55 miles an hour—under normal limiting conditions, to zero, when the curve becomes, of course, a straight line, there being no diurnal inequality, the superior and inferior tidal waves being, theoretically, equal; curve A representing the strength of the tidal stream, according to the age of the moon, *i.e.* as to Spring Tides or Neaps: without any declination effect, this portion attaining a maximum strength of .8 miles an hour, dropping to .1 mile an hour as the maximum at neaps. If now we take the speed of the tidal stream from curve A by using the time from the Superior High Water, and interpolate between the two curves according to the number of days from spring tides, and to it apply the declination effect from curve B according to the same number of hours after the Superior High Water and interpolating again for the moon's declination as given in the Nautical Almanac, we shall obtain a very close approximation to the actual tide running, both as to speed and direction, that is East going or West.

In making use of this method, no difficulty should be found once some familiarity is gained, but there are three points

requiring special attention, Firstly, in interpolating between spring and neap tides, it must not be assumed that spring tides occur on the day of Full or New moon; as already explained, the tidal wave takes two days and a half to reach Singapore, so that springs occur two or three days later and neaps two or three days after the first and third quarters. For the same reasons the moon's declination must always be taken for two and a half days previous to the day under consideration, and, if the moon's declination is tabulated by Greenwich time, seven hours might be subtracted from the Singapore time for greater accuracy. This will however, make a difference of about 1° only, and is generally negligible. These remarks apply of course only to obtaining the declination and not to the time from high water. With regard to this latter, care must be taken not to work from the higher high water for the day, for owing to local conditions, the inferior tide, that is, that generated on the side of the earth remote from the moon, may rise to a greater height than the superior tide, generated under the moon by direct attraction. It is necessary to work from the Superior High Water, which may be recognised by the moon's age, as follows:—

From third quarter to first quarter the moon is near the sun and will be above the horizon during the day time. The superior tide will therefore be generated in the Southern ocean during the hours of daylight and will reach here two days and a half later, and therefore at night time; similarly from first quarter to third the superior tide will be found here during the day. If these three points be attended to, the curves should be easy to use and, within the limits of local and meteorological disturbing influences, sufficiently accurate. An example of the working may be given before proceeding to consider other irregularities. Suppose to be required to find the direction and strength of the tidal stream at 5 a.m. February 1st 1930. From tide tables, spring tides occur February 5th. We are therefore 4 days before Springs and interpolate accordingly. Superior High Water, moon being nearly full, takes place during day. Superior High Water from tide tables February 1st, 8.14 a.m.

Time from Superior High Water = $3\frac{1}{4}$ hours before

From curve A. $3\frac{1}{4}$ hours at Springs — .71 knot Westerly

„ „ A. „ at Neaps — .09 „ „

interpolating $4/7$ ths from Springs— .36 Westerly (A)

Correcting this by applying value from curve B we require the moon's declination $2\frac{1}{2}$ days before, i.e. January 29th 5 p.m., Singapore time or, 10 a.m. January 29th Greenwich time. For this the Nautical Almanac gives 25° N. Since the maximum moon's declination is 28° , we interpolate in the ratios of $25/28$. Taking $3\frac{1}{4}$ hours before the Superior High Water the curve gives an ordinate of 0.56 knot Westerly, $0.56 \times 25 = .50$ knot Westerly (B)

Taking the Algebraical sum of the two values A and B we find that the tidal stream in the main strait will be running to the Westward at a rate of 0.86 knots, which, considering that the tide will then be flooding, appears not unlikely. This investigation would enable any operations in hand to be started early, as we are reassured as to the tide, a glance at the curves showing that the current will decrease and remain moderate for some five or six hours, when it will gradually attain a speed of a knot and a half to the Eastward.

By an examination of curves A & B, it appears that the strongest tides will run during springs, when the declination effect is greatest. This will occur at new moon near the solstices, and not about the equinoxes as it does in greater latitudes. The maximum strength appears to be 2.1 knots to the Eastward, 1.8 knots to the West; this for the Main Strait, but through Keppel Harbour and along the wharves, owing to the configuration of the land, the strength of the stream is very much increased. An inspection of the chart will show a funnel shaped entrance, in entering which the volume of water must be reduced to about half its original value, hence the rate must be approximately doubled, both when flowing in to the West or in being drawn out to the East. We may therefore take the curve as giving a maximum current in the neighbourhood of the wharves of $4\frac{1}{2}$ knots on the ebb and $3\frac{1}{2}$ knots during flood tide, which agrees very closely with the results obtained by observations.

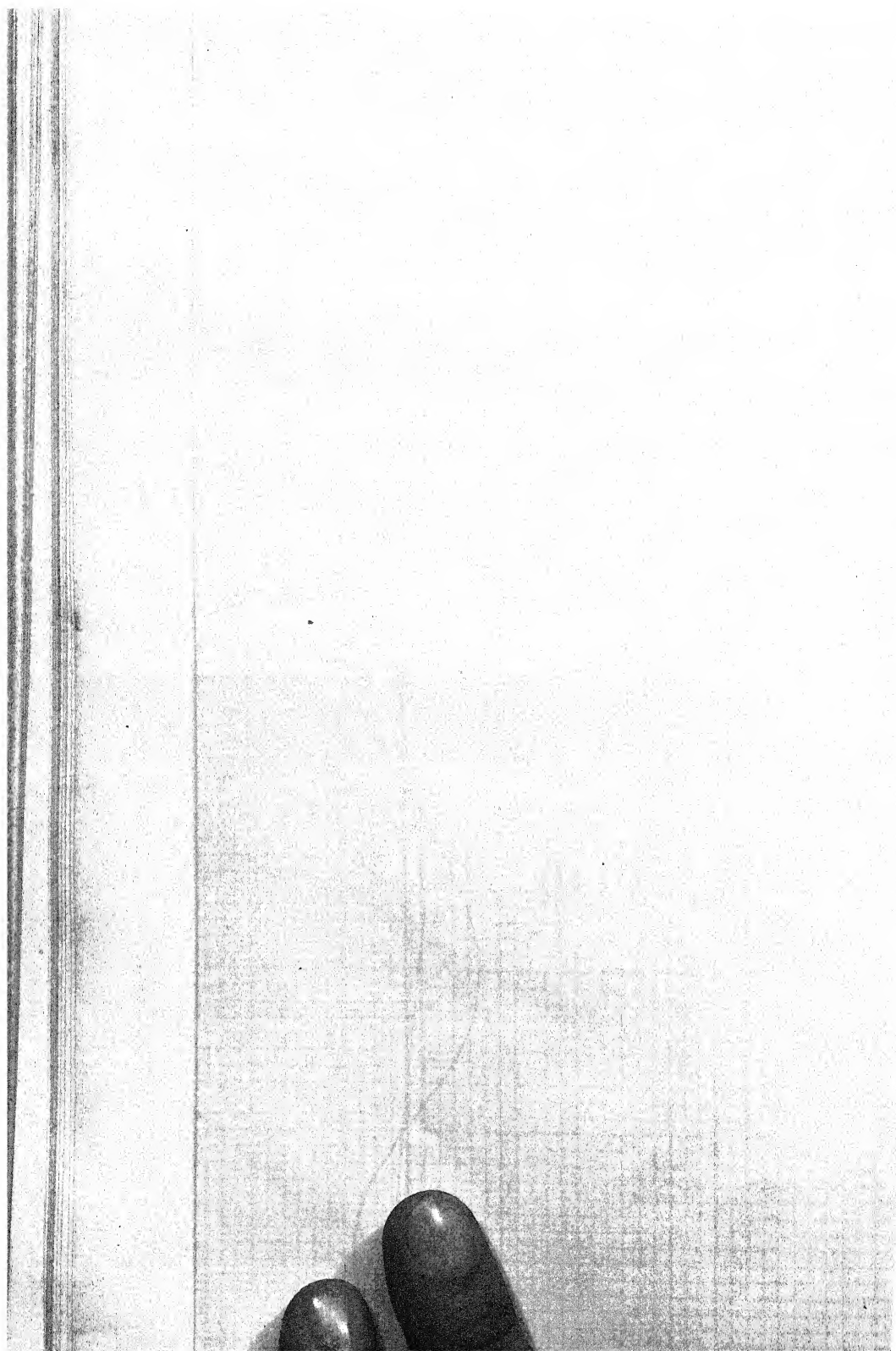
With regard to the peculiar tide occasionally experienced, which runs to the Westward for about fifteen hours and strongly to the Eastward for some seven hours, it may be seen from the curve that this will occur when the diurnal tidal stream is greater than, and opposed to, the normal semi-diurnal tide. The period of the one being twenty four hours, and of the other twelve hours, it follows that, since they both begin their cycles by commencing to run to the Eastward about one hour before the superior high water, eighteen hours later the one will be flowing West and the other East, the resultant tide being dependent on whichever predominates, this will be the diurnal in times of greater declination, and the semi-diurnal normal ebb when spring tides occur during a period of lesser declination. For similar reasons it is apparent that when such a prolonged set to the Westward occurs, although a temporary fall in level and subsequent rise will generally have occurred, marking the existence of the weaker ebb tide, it will be followed by a period when the *diurnal and semi-diurnal streams combine* and produce an exceptionally strong ebb tide with a rapid fall in level, which will continue to run for occasionally as much as ten or eleven hours, and generally becomes slack about an hour after the low water. The strength and duration of this ebb can of course be obtained as previously described.

Having thus indicated a simple method of analysing and consequently predicting the local tidal streams, we may finally turn

our attention to the height of the water level, particularly with regard to the dates and times of extremely high and low tides. The actual depths to be expected need not be considered, as these may always be obtained from the Admiralty Tide Tables, but a close study of the data there given reveals some very interesting results. In the first place, it at once appears that the highest and the lowest tides do not occur in the same months, and therefore that a very low tide must not be anticipated after a very high water. It appears that the highest levels occur in February, August and September, (the maximum in each month being 10 ft. 7 in.) the lowest in April, May, June and November, further, that the mean sea level varies steadily and regularly throughout the year, being generally higher in the months of the first mentioned group and altogether lower during those of the second group. The following figures give the mean sea level for each month, calculated from the average of a large number of days :

Month.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July	Aug.
M.S.L. ..	5' 11"	5' 9"	5' 3½"	5' 1"	5' 1"	5' 5½"	5' 10"	5' 11"
		Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.			
		5' 9½"	5' 7"	5' 7½"	5' 11"			

Here we see that in January, August and December the general level of the water is approximately ten inches higher than in April and May, and four inches higher than in October, giving an indication of a curve with two maxima of equal height and two minima, of a greater and a lesser value. A careful consideration of the astronomical influences failing to reveal a satisfactory explanation, attention may be turned to the meteorological conditions, the outstanding feature of which is of course the Monsoon ; during December, January and February, the months of high water levels, the North East Monsoon, which commences in November, is at its strongest. It is known to increase the mean sea level at the Eastern entrance to the strait two inches more than it raises it at the Western end,—it may fairly be presumed that it cannot raise the water at one place without affecting the surrounding areas to some extent, is it then too much to suppose that the whole increase of level during these months is due to the continued pressure of the wind, the water being prevented, to some extent, from escaping readily, by the great barriers of Sumatra, Java and Borneo ? Supporting evidence is brought forward when it is seen that as soon as the monsoon breaks the level drops rapidly to its normal height in April and May. In June the South West monsoon commences and shortly afterwards the level again rises, falling with the close of the monsoon in September. We may expect then to get the highest tides when either monsoon is at its height, and is aided by the combination of the solar and lunar attractions, that is, Spring tide in times of great declination, and the lowest tides at the change of the Monsoon with similar Spring



tides, for the action of Spring tides will only be to produce spring high waters and spring low waters, and these will both be raised during the monsoon's strength about ten inches, falling when there is no monsoon effect to about five inches below the mean, that is below the zero of the predictions.

For further details of the theoretical principles used in this study of the local tides, reference may be made to "Mathematical Astronomy" (Barlow and Bryan) and to the Admiralty "Manual of Navigation" as well as to the local "Sailing Directions".

Note.—Apology must be made for very slight inaccuracy in the printing of the curves but the practical results obtained are definitely not affected; in addition the word "Maximum" should have been placed on the conspicuous curve "B" near the legend "Diurnal effect of declination." and the word "Minimum" against the less readily recognisable tracing which also forms the centre line of the same figure, the minimum effect being of course nil.
G. F. Leechman, Marazion, Cornwall, March 23rd., 1937.

THE FOUNDER OF MALACCA.

By P. V. van STEIN CALLENFELS, O.B.E., PH.D.

Hon. M. R. A. S. Mal. Br.

In his History of Malaya (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIII, Part I) Sir Richard Winstedt has for the first time, to my knowledge, brought together all data concerning the founder of Malacca from Malayan, Chinese, and Portuguese sources. In trying to separate the historical facts from the legends and obvious lies, he overlooked, misguided by the supposition that the Javanese ruler Pararisa of de Barros was the Majhapahit emperor Bhra Hyang Wishesa,¹ (1389-1428) a very valuable datum, which throws some more light on the puzzling personality of Parameshwara, first Malaccan king.

On pp. 38-39 of his work he writes: "Perhaps the earliest account is that published in 1557 by the bastard son of the great d'Albuquerque, who had access to his father's papers. He tells how after much fighting "Paramicura", a pagan king of Palembang, married a daughter of Bataratamurel (? Batara of Tumpel) and agreed to pay his father-in-law tribute and be his vassal. Faithless to his promise he was attacked and conquered by the Batara and lost his kingdom whereupon he fled to Singapore along with his wife and children. The local chief Tamagi received him hospitably but after eight days was creased by his guest, covetous of the country's riches. Joined by three thousand followers from Palembang, Parameswara reigned for five years at Singapore, pillaging all the passing ships with his fleet of *lancharas*. Then aided by Singapore subjects who disliked their ruler's exactions, the king of Patani drove out the murderer of his brother Tamagi.

De Barros, writing in 1553, relates that after the death of a Javanese ruler, Pararisa (? Bhra Hyang Wisesa, king of Thumapel 1389-1428, one of the two kingdoms into which Majapahit split on his accession), a dynastic war started and many nobles fled from the country, among them a Parameswara, who accepted the hospitality of Sangesinga (? Sanghyang Singha) king of Singapore. After a short time Parameswara murdered his host and with the aid of his Javanese followers and the "Cellates" made himself master of the town. He was driven out by the king of Siam, father-in-law and suzerain of Sangesinga, fled to the Muar river and built a wooden fort at Pagoh for dread of Siamese attack. The "Cellates" or Proto-Malay sea-folk followed him but fearful of their numbers the exile bade them go elsewhere to make a settlement; they founded Malacca."

¹Lack of diacritical marks in the printer's office necessitates for Sanskrit words an only approximately correct transcription.

Of two other Portuguese historians, one, Diego de Couto, lets the Javanese drive out Parameshwara from Singapore and the other, Gohinho de Eredia, mentions the king of Pam (Pahang) as the enemy.

The version of the Malay Annals with its Hindu widadari's Suprabha, Tilottama and Menaka as first kings of what later became the Malacca-dynasty, can be discarded. That it was a Javanese army which drove out Parameshwara from Singapore is also highly improbable. The place was conquered by Majhapahit some decades earlier and is mentioned in 1365 already as one of the dependencies of that Javanese empire. At the time of the foundation of Malacca the power of Majhapahit was on the wane, which is proved by the fact that in 1403 according to the Chinese sources, Siamese influence had spread on the Malay Peninsula, forty years earlier wholly under Javanese sway, at least as far South as Malacca.

It must remain undecided, however, whether Parameshwara's foe was Pahang or Patani or Siam.

The valuable data mentioned above, not made use of by Winstedt, are the name of Parameshwara's father-in-law Bataratamurel (certainly the Bhatara Tumapel of Javanese history as proposed already by Winstedt) and the fact that de Barros gives as the cause, which made Parameshwara leave Java, a dynastic war.

d'Albuquerque is perhaps right in making Bhatara Tumapel the father-in-law (or more probably relative) of the founder of Malacca. In *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1923 p. 165-166 I pointed out already that a ruler's name Parameshwara must prepare us for the fact, that the man probably owes his position to a marriage with a royal princess. It is therefore possible that our Parameshwara married either a daughter of Bhatara Tumapel or another princess of the imperial house of Majhapahit. Whether he was of a Palembang descent, as d'Albuquerque will have it, or a Javanese nobleman according to de Barros has to remain undecided. Both alternatives are possible, as other cases of Javanese princesses marrying foreign royalty are known (e.g. in the first half of the thirteenth century a princess of Tumapel married the king of Champa in French Indo-China).

The Bhatara Tumapel of d'Albuquerque and the dynastic war of de Barros combined, enabled us to put a more definite date to the arrival of Parameshwara at Singapore.

The well-known Javanese historical work on the dynasty of Tumapel and Majhapahit, the *Pararaton*, edited by Dr. J. L. A. Brandes in 1896,² gives us both the Bhatara and the war.

²Second edition revised by Prof. Dr. N. J. Krom, *Verhand. R. Bat. Soc.* Vol. LXII, 1920.

In 1389 the most famous emperor of Majhapahit, Hayam Wuruk, during whose reign by the genius of his prime minister Gajah Mada, the might of the empire reached its summit, died. By his consort he had only a daughter but by a concubine he had a son, Wirabhumī. According to the old Javanese law of succession in such a case the princess of royal blood on both sides had to marry her cousin, who then became emperor, although she herself also played a certain part in the state affairs.

Hayam Wuruk's daughter married her cousin Bhre Mataram I, son of a younger sister of her father, after whose death the son-in-law became emperor as Bhra Hyang Wishesa. Wirabhumī, Hayam Wuruk's son by a concubine, had married Bhre Lasem "the Fat" a daughter of the same sister of Hayam Wuruk.

It seems that the old emperor loved his son Wirabhumī most of all. Although he did not dare to change the age-old law of succession, he left to his son the eastern part of Java as a kind of vassal-kingdom. The Pararaton becomes in the later part, to which this period belongs, rather more like a chronological list than a work on history. What the exact relation between the eastern king Wirabhumī and the emperor Bhra Hyang Wishesa was is not clear, but for the first decade after Hayam Wuruk's death all went well. Then the Pararaton continues, after mentioning, that in 1400 the emperor became a hermit :

" Bhra Hyang Wishesa (who even as a hermit seems to have remained in power) fell out with Bhra Wirabhumī, dadi deniradampul, abelah mati siradampul ishaka 1323.³

Three years later a war started again.

Both prepared for war. To Bhre Tumapel and Bhra Hyang Parameshwara both send word of it. ' Whom shall I assist? [these asked themselves']. When it came to fighting the Western kingdom lost, Bhra Hyang Wishesa had ill-luck. He was worried by it and intended to fly. This was made known to Bhre Tumapel and Bhra Parameshwara. [They said]. Let him not fly too soon, I will resist his enemy. This made Bhra Hyang Wishesa take heart again. He advanced again and helped by Bhre Tumapel and Bhra Parameshwara regained all he had lost. The Eastern kingdom lost.... Bhre Wirabhumī went away at night and boarded a ship, but was followed by Raden Gajah, who [later] was anointed as Ratu angabhaya with the name of Bhra Narapati. He [Wirabhumī] was overtaken, killed and decapitated. His head was brought to Majhapahit. He was interred at Lung, which as royal sepulchral temple was called Gorishapura, in the shaka-year 1328 (A. D. 1406) ; in this same year that great war took place."

³Unintelligible. Prof. J. C. C. Jonker proposed to translate : " What he tried to stop, split ; he died, trying to stop in shaka 1323 " (A. D. 1401).

Here we have about the time of the foundation of Malacca a great civil war in the Majhapahit empire, in which war a Bhatara Tumapel (Bhre Tumapel) played a prominent part.

That this dynasty strife is not a legend, is proved by the Chinese annals. Already in 1377 they mention in Java an eastern and a western king. It is possible that those two kings are the emperor of Majhapahit and the king of Sunda, but also, that Hayam Wuruk had already during his life-time given eastern Java to his son Wirabhum. The fact, that the western king is called Bhatara Prabhu or Bhra Prabhu, a specific title of the emperor of Majhapahit during this period, points to the last supposition. Those two kings of Java are mentioned again as sending envoys in 1403, when the western king is called Tumpael and the eastern Bhreng Daha, a somewhat puzzling name as several Bhrengs Daha are known in the Javanese history of this time.

And then the Ming annals go on :

" In the year 1405 the eunuch Cheng Ho was sent as a messenger to this country and in the next year the two kings made war upon each other ; the eastern king was defeated and his kingdom destroyed. At that time the imperial envoys were just in the country of the eastern king, and when the soldiers of the western king entered the market place, 170 of their followers were killed by these."⁴

The enigmatical attitude of both Bhre Tumapel and Bhra Parameshwara, first remaining neutral and afterwards, when Wirabhum already had the advantage helping Bhra Hyang Wishesa to beat him, can be explained by their places on the branches of the imperial Majhapahit family-tree.

The only son of Bhra Hyang Wishesa and his royal consort died in 1400 and so after the death of Bhra Hyang Wishesa and his wife Bhre Lasem " the Beautiful ", daughter of Hayam Wuruk, owing to the lack of a legal heir according to the old-Javanese law of succession, the successor had to be chosen from among the descendants of concubines.

It seems, that Bhra Hyang Wishesa favoured the succession of his daughter by a concubine, Dewi Suhita, who indeed afterwards became empress. Bhre Tumapel was also his son by a concubine and had a good chance to succeed his father and step-mother, if the former was not strong enough to enforce the succession of his daughter. To have his father driven out of the country and Wirabhum seated on the throne of Majhapahit however, would have lost him every chance of ever becoming emperor, although he had married one of Wirabhum's daughters.

Bhra Parameshwara was the grandson of a son of Hayam Wuruk's father by a concubine and the son of another sister of

⁴ W. P. Groeneveldt. Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources. In Miscellaneous papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago. R.A.S.S.B. Second Series. Vol. I.

Bhra Hyang Wishesa. At the death of the latter he had by his descent from a mother of royal blood as good a right to the throne as anybody else. He married however Dewi Suhita, the daughter of Bhra Hyang Wishesa, who later succeeded her father. We know not if he was married already at the time of the civil war, if his marriage was a bribe to bring him on Wishesa's side or if he married the princess later, but the fact of the marriage proves that he inclined more to Hyang Wishesa's side than to that of Wirabhumi.

Bhre Tumapel became emperor of Majhapahit (1447-1451) as successor of his sister Dewi Suhita. Bhra Parameshwara, who married the latter, saw her ascend the throne as empress (1429-1447) and must even have played a prominent role in state affairs as it is specially mentioned in the Pararaton that he was anointed, as prince under the name of Ratnapangkaja. He died a year before his consort in 1446. These facts preclude any supposition of Hyang Parameshwara being identical with the founder of Malacca.

At what time did Parameshwara of Singapore and later of Malacca leave Java? The Ming Annals report under 1403 that Malacca existed already, but was no kingdom. It belonged to Siam to which country an annual tribute was paid. The chief was Paili-su-ra, certainly our Parameshwara.

As he had already founded Malacca in 1403 (although obviously quite recently as he had not yet had the time to make himself independent), it is impossible that he took part in the final war of 1404-1406. He probably therefore left Java during the troubles of 1401.

d'Albuquerque calls him a Palembang prince married to a daughter of Bhatara Tumapel. As far as I can see the Bhre Tumapel of the Pararaton was not yet old enough to have marriageable daughters. It is possible that the Bhre Tumapel, his father-in-law was not the man, bearing that title at the time of the foundation of Malacca, but an older one, the father of Hayam Wuruk. That Bhre Tumapel however was dead in 1372 at a time then Majhapahit was at the summit of its power and no civil wars took place. The story of d'Albuquerque, that Tumapel sent an expedition to Palembang to drive out his son-in-law, who refused to pay tribute, is also impossible. The description given in the Pararaton of the state of affairs in Majhapahit at the time of the founding of Malacca proves that it is highly improbable that a punitive expedition was sent to Sumatra.

Considering these facts it becomes probable that de Barros' version viz. Parameshwara, a Javanese nobleman, left Java because of the civil war which broke out in that country in 1401, is nearest to the historical truth; d'Albuquerque's mentioning of a Batarata Tumapel as having played a part in the happenings supports this.

The title Batarata however is somewhat confusing. During the Majhapahit empire the royal princes who bore the Tumapel-title

are mentioned as Bhra or Bhre, Bhatara being the title of the sovereign. Javanese history knows Bhatara's of Tumapel, but the last one, the ruler who started the imperialistic policy of Java by sending an expedition to Bali and to "Malayu" (Jambi and the country of the Upper-Batang Hari), was murdered in 1292, long before the foundation of Malacca. It was his cousin and son-in-law who, after having avenged the murder, founded the Majhapahit empire.

Parameshwara of Malacca was probably a Javanese nobleman (although it remains possible that he was a Sumatran prince) who married a Javanese princess, his name pointing to that. He left Java about 1401 because of civil war, fled to Singapore, where after a few days stay he seems to have murdered his host, but was in 1402 or the beginning of 1403 driven out of that place by the over-lord of the murdered chieftain and founded Malacca, where Chinese envoys found him in 1403 as a petty chief.

Above, I have mentioned an older Bhre Tumapel and as in his lifetime also civic disturbances occurred it seems advisable to point out that it is nearly impossible that Parameshwara had anything to do with both that Bhre Tumapel, or those disturbances.

In 1328 the only son of the founder of Majhapahit, who had succeeded his father in 1309 was murdered and left no children. As the legal rights of his father to the throne came through his marriage with the daughters of the last king of Tumapel (murdered in 1292) one of these daughters, still alive, mounted the throne but as she was a Buddhist nun one of the two remaining daughters of the founder of the empire reigned in her place. Both these daughters were still unmarried, but as their father died in 1309 they must have been at least 20 years old. After the death of their brother they married, the older one, who reigned in the place of the Nun-Empress, chose as her husband a nobleman who got the title of Bhre Tumapel. From this couple the future emperor Hayam Wuruk was born in 1334.

During the whole of the reign of the second emperor who in 1309 came to the throne as a boy in his early teens the vassals who helped his father to found the empire, not content with the positions they had obtained started insurrections and even during the first years after his death these continued. A disturbance which seems to have been of a more serious character occurred in 1331. The Pararaton mentioning the fact calls it "the happenings at Sadeng" (a place in Eastern Java) but does not give enough details to enable us to form an idea of what really took place. At last the Sinuhun himself came over and quelled the rebellion. According to Brandes and Krom this Sinuhun (His Majesty) was Bhre Tumapel, so here we have civil war and a Bhre Tumapel playing a role in it. But a glance at the dates is enough to show us that Parameshwara cannot have played a role in this civil war. He must have settled in Malacca about 1400

and the Sadeng-insurrection took place in 1331, which would put 69 years between his flight from Java and his settlement at Malacca. The only Bhre Tumapel and civil war which fit in with the data we have about Parameshwara are those from about 1401.

POSTSCRIPT. After my paper on the founder of Malacca had been sent to the Editor of this Journal, the Rev. Father R. Cardon kindly pointed out to me that Gaspar Correa in his "Lendas da India" gives a story of the founding of Malacca which confirms the hypothesis of Parameshwara being a Javanese nobleman who fled from that island and of Malacca existing already as a Proto-Malaya settlement before his arrival. Father Cardon not only sent me a copy of the passage in the "Lendas" relative to this matter but also a translation of which an extract follows here :—

".....I will say something on the situation of the land and the character of the inhabitants. One has to know that when our people went to Malacca, seven hundred years had passed that Malacca was situated where it was then. In the beginning on [the mouth of] the river there was a village of people from other countries, poor fishermen, who kept many boats in which they went to fish, everytime coming back to the river. And as they got big catches of fish, which they dried and salted, from other parts men came to buy them, by which big profit was made [by the fishermen]. By that reason many other fishers joined them and thus sprang up a big settlement ; in such a way they bettered their circumstances and increased [in numbers] and made big boats in which they went to sea, plundering what they could each for his own profit....When those things went on [in Malacca] it happened that a rich man in the land of Java married the daughter of a great lord and by marriage contract the son-in-law bound himself to give his father-in-law every year a sum of money out of some lands which were producing the double, so that he saved a big sum of money and rebelled, refusing to pay the rent to his father-in-law. Both came to war, but as the father-in-law was the stronger he inflicted on him such a severe defeat that he fled to sea and went to this fishermen's village, which because of the salted fish was called Malagas. In this thus-called place came the fugitive to settle in a vacant place near the fishermen with his men and women and made a village much larger than the fishermen's with whom they lived in such good neighbourship, that they intermarried and befriended....And the lord being very bountiful to them, they built many boats, which he equipped with his men who were great warriors and with them he started to plunder all he could get at sea."

Correa then points out how Parameshwara and his men having become rich by piracy soon discovered that it was more profitable to attract merchants to the town, levying a tax on every ship passing through the Straits of Malacca.

FURTHER NOTES UPON A STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES IN THE MALAY PENINSULA.

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

I have received from Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G., the following valuable notes upon the last part of my essay. They make more clear and add to views of his which I had collected and upon which I had commented in that part. They also contain much matter that is entirely new in the sense that it has not yet been published locally. Once more I express my thanks for co-operation.—R.B.

NOTES.

Gangga-nĕgara.—"Bruas" is the name of a river giving access from the sea to the Northern Division of the old Dindings Territory. By Europeans the term is applied also (loosely) to the area watered by this river and to its headquarters, a little township with a separate Malay name of its own. Within this area,—not far from the river but several miles from the township,—the local Malays show the remains of an ancient city which they say was once the capital of all Perak. The remains include a "fort" (*kota*), a "drumming ground" (*tanah gĕndang*), and a harbour that has long since been silted up: they have been left unexcavated (I am told) because they are guarded by evil spirits. Their site is *di-darat Dinding*, where the Malay Annals place *Gangga-nĕgara*. There is no wish to identify *Gangga-nĕgara* with the modern "Bruas" but only to describe the position of the site as given in the Annals themselves.

So also the so-called "Dindings River" is said by Malays to have been part of a former estuary of the Perak. *Pulau Dinding* is a range of hills, some twelve miles long, screening or separating the old *kuala* from the sea. Nine hundred years ago when the Chula War took place this "walled" harbour must have been the finest on the West Coast and will explain at once the importance of "Gangga-nĕgara". Whatever the honorific name of the town may have been the site is well worth exploring. Actually Rajendra-cola's inscription speaks of a "water-city" (= *gangga-nĕgara* ?) and also of a "city with high walls" (= *din-ding* ?), so that there is nothing improbable about the statements in the *Sejarah Melayu*.

Lĕnggiu.—The Annals were written or edited at Pasir Raja (not Pasai), a settlement on the Johore river below the Lenggiu. Their author or editor had spent his whole life in that neighbourhood and must have known it well; why should we disbelieve him when he says that there was, in his own day, an old fort of black stone on the Lenggiu? When Hervey visited Gunong Blumut he was shown on this river the traditional sites of a

makara, an idol and a palace (*maligai*) while on the adjacent *Bukit Pénnyabong* he was shown the petrified fighting-cock that a certain *Raja Chulan* had pitted against the bird of another prince. This legendary combat—each time with a *Raja Chulan* as owner of one of the cocks—figures again in the seventeenth century *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and in the nineteenth century *Hikayat Raja-raja Bugis*. The Annals editor tells us that Lenggü stands for the Indo-Chinese *Klang-khiau* and means “Treasury of Jewels”.¹ This would be the honorific name for a royal headquarters. Rouffaer verified the Indo-Chinese original and pointed out that “Jewel” in later Malay would be *jauhar* or *johar*, i.e. “Johor”. It is hardly necessary to look for Lenggü in Kota Glanggi or in stories from the continent of India when the name itself may explain the Johore River and Johore State.

Raja Suran. “Suran” is little more than a mere word : *vox et praeterea nihil*. As the Chula King who conquered Malaya Suran is confused with “Chulan”, a name borne by Malay princes to this day. As the prince who set out from Singapore in search of new worlds to conquer he is obviously Alexander. As the prince who went down into the sea he is again Alexander. Sir William Maxwell quoting Marsden (your pp. 43, 44) says distinctly that it was Alexander who dived into the ocean; and even as I write in Athens I have before me a version of the Iskandar legend with a picture of the king sitting in a glass barrel surrounded by mermaids and fish. (This picture is reproduced from a French M.S. of the thirteenth century.) Moreover “Suran’s” mermaid-wife was named *Mahtab al-bahri* (moonlight on the sea) or roughly, *Raushanak* (Sea-splendour, Roxana). Need we bring in Naga descent or Hindu tradition? Suran figures again (as either son or father) in a group of three princes who go by many names but are referable (as Mr. T. Braddell pointed out) to the Persian “Feridun” tradition. Feridun had three sons: one became king of Iran (Persia), one of Turan (Tartary including China), and one of “the Western Countries,” i.e. Rum. In Sumatra Alexander was the father of three sons: *Maharaja diraja* (king of Sumatra), *Maharaja Dipang* (king of China) and *Maharaja Alif* (king of Rum). Raja Tarsi-Berderas had three sons: one (Suran) was king of Hamadan (Persia); another of Tartary, the third of Hindustan. By one wife Raja Suran had three sons: one was King of Persia (Hamadan), one of “Chandukani” and the third of Palembang. By another wife Raja Suran had three sons; one ruled in Minangkabau, another in Palembang and the third in Borneo. Need we pursue these families further? They are quite unhistoric. One thing is worth mentioning. It is inexact to say (your p. 57) that the Dato’ Nara Diraja whispers into the Sultan’s ear the *chiri* or installation formula. This formula is uttered aloud at all installations of princes and Chiefs; the Malay Annals tell us that a written copy of it used to be given

¹ Johar bérkampong.

to the man installed. What is whispered is the State Secret, a very different matter. And this State Secret (be it whispered) deals with another version of the great family tradition.

One point more. No one questions Indian influence in Malaya but most people misunderstand it. Sri Vijaya was Buddhist; Buddhism is not best interpreted by Brahmans. Genuine Hindu custom is more modern. The missionaries who brought Islam into Malaya were Indians whose lives and customs were permeated by Hindu practices so that the work of Hinduism in the Peninsula is best studied in a book such as Herklots' account of Mohammedanism in the Deccan. This point was stressed by Snouck Hurgronje in his account of the Achehnese.

The Annals.—The text of the *Sejarah Melayu* opens up endless questions. Rouffaer has pointed out that the "Goa" version (mentioned in its preface) was probably brought to Johor among the gifts of a Portuguese mission headed by a certain envoy named de Amoreira. This is likely enough. But the author or editor of the work, even in the earliest form we know it, must have had before him histories of Pasai and Champa (which have little to do with Malacca), an elaborate treatise on court etiquette, a version of the Alexander legend and (probably) more than one form of the early Malacca genealogy. On the other hand he had not the faintest idea that the Palembang kingdom was seven-hundred years old; and he was ignorant of the names *Shailendra* and *Sri Vijaya*. More strangely still, he ignores completely the story of the early settlement at Water Island, the *malakat*, out of which Malacca grew. Vaguely he knew that there had been a Palembang kingdom, a dynasty associated with great mountains, a hill called *Bukit Si-guntang* and a river known as the *Melayu*. (The Hang Tuah tells us correctly that *Si-guntang* was the site of the palace of the Palembang kings.) On the other hand the Annalist seems to have known very much indeed about Sri Vijaya court ceremonial, the *chiri*, the *muntah Lumbu*, and a few genuine Palembang folk-names such as *Dĕmang Lebar Daun*, *Wan Po'* and *Wan Mĕlini*. From *Dĕmang Lebar Daun* he even claimed descent.

With all his ignorance Tun Sri Lanang had an extraordinary idea of the truth. He knew of the old State of Singapore which perished about 1360 A.D. and of the Majapahit war which led to its destruction. Through the Pasai history he knew of Kartanegara's Minangkabau conquests of 1275, represented as a Java War ended by a single combat between buffaloes (*mĕnang-kĕrbau*). He knew of the Chula War of about 1028 A.D.—represented as an invasion by a "king of the Klings". He knew that *Mĕlayu* (Jambi) had played a part in this old history. Last of all he knew that the Palembang dynasty was associated with the mountains and had borne Indian princely titles (*raja*) in contradistinction to the older term *yang-dĕpĕrtuan* "which Demang Lebar

Daun was the first to use ". This takes us back to the Seventh Century. Tun Sri Lanang goes even farther into the past when he tells us that one member of his family refused its oldest title, Tun Talani, because it smacked too much of the primeval jungle. Without either books, names or dates to guide him the Annalist had a real grasp of the salient points of Sri Vijaya history.

Gold and Tin.—It is a little misleading to suggest that Malaya was rich in gold, even for the First Century. The Indians of that time knew of other local mines as well ; but they imported their gold largely or mainly from Europe and gave a good premium for it. The Periplus tells us so (of Broach or "Barygaza") ; Pliny estimated the annual drain on Rome at over half a million sterling ; Tacitus complained bitterly of it ; and Roman coin had to be depreciated : the gold *aureus* till (under Septimius Severus) it shrank to nearly half its original size and the silver *denarius* till (under Elagabalus) it became copper. Vasco da Gama himself brought back a letter from the Zamorin, "what I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet".

But what strikes us as stranger still is the fact that the First Century Indians imported their tin from Europe. The Periplus makes this plain ; and the Sanskrit word for "tin" is *kasthira* = Gk. *kassiteris*. Malaya exported none ; nor up to a thousand years A.D. does it seem to have included any tin in its tribute to China. At some later date the Arabs began trading in it under the name of *kalai*, "the Kedah metal", a name which strangely enough has superseded *kassiteris* in modern Greek. How did the presence of tin come to be overlooked for so long a period in Malaya ? Indian "colonisation" must have been superficial and Ptolemy's "emporion" small and unluckily placed.

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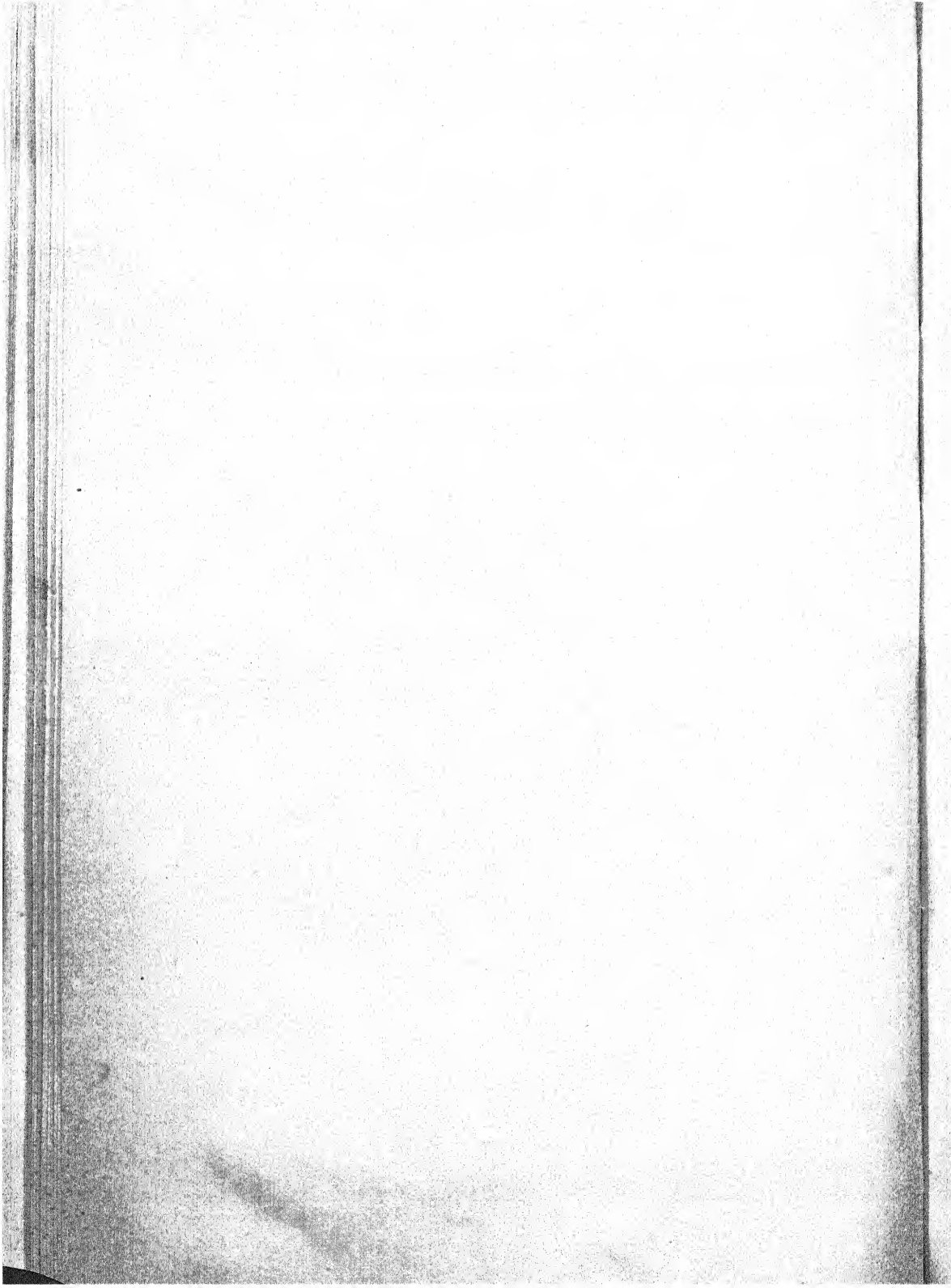
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MALAYA IN THE WU-PEI-CHIH CHARTS

By J. V. MILLS, M.C.S.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

[Even so humble a paper as this has required the assistance of helpers too numerous to mention.

Among them the present writer desires to tender his grateful thanks to Dr. L. Giles of the British Museum, to Dr. C. O. Blagden and Dr. E. D. Edwards of the School of Oriental Studies, to the Committee of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by whom the Charts were first published, and particularly to Mr. C. C. Best of the Malayan Survey Department whose technical knowledge and intimate experience of Malayan waters render his comments of such interest and value that the writer has reproduced them almost verbatim.]

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Charts which form the subject-matter of this paper are to be found, according to a statement made by Phillips in 1885, in the last chapter of a modern Chinese work called *Wu pei pi shu* or "Records of Military Affairs", mentioned by Wylie in his "*Notes on Chinese Literature*" in the following terms, "The *Wu-pei-pi-shu* (武備秘書) by She Yung-t'oo is a type of a common order of modern books, professing to give complete and satisfactory details on the art of war. The first volume treats of firearms and pyrotechnic stratagems, and the remainder is occupied with the devices to be employed under every possible geographical and topographical condition. It is profusely illustrated with maps and plates of the most miserable description, exhibiting a succession of quaintly antique machines and extraordinary manoeuvres which it is difficult to conceive to have been brought into effective service. The text is chiefly quotations from old authors".

The Charts are reproduced by Phillips with an article entitled "*The Seaports of India and Ceylon*", published in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XX. (1885). p. 209, and Vol. XXI. (1886). p. 30). Apart from incidental references to the Charts in Gerini's *Researches into Ptolemy's Geography* (1914), the only attempt to identify the Malayan place-names in the Charts is made by Blagden in his paper entitled *Notes on Early Malay History* (J.R.A.S.S.B. No. 53. (1909). p. 153): Blagden identifies with reasonable certainty 16 of the places appearing in the Peninsular region from "*Sun-ku-na*" (Singora) on the east coast to "*Ku li yu pu tung*" (Pulau Butang) on the west.

The aim of the present paper is to identify and explain the remaining 35 names and legends.

In recent years the Charts have been fortunate enough to attract the attention of those distinguished savants Duyvendak and Pelliot (now co-directors of *T'oung Pao*): see Duyvendak. *Ma Huan re-examined*. (1933) and Pelliot "*Les grands voyages maritimes Chinois au début du XV^e siècle*" (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. (1933). p. 237): from these works the present writer borrows unashamedly albeit very respectfully.

The British Museum possesses a copy of the *Wu-pei-pi-shu* (Oriental Department, 15259. c. 14), but it is defective and does not contain the chart.

The Sinological Institute at Leyden also possesses a copy of the *Wu-pei-pi-shu*: it is the same edition as that in the British Museum, and it contains a chart resembling, but not identical with, that of Phillips: it is not so well cut, and though it gives most of the sailing directions appearing on Phillips' chart, they are printed in a different way: so obviously there were two different editions of this chart.

The British Museum possesses another Chinese book with the title *Hai-yün-yao-lüeh*, 海運要畧, "An Epitome of Sea-transport" (Oriental Department, 15,259. c. 22) which is the same work as the *Wu-pei-pi-shu*, and differs only in respect of the title on the title page: it also contains the chart, identical with that at Leyden.

The marginal note reads "*Hsin-lüeh*, *Ti-li-chüan-ssü*, *T'ung-wai-kuo-i'u*", 心畧地利卷四通外國圖, i.e. "Plans, chapter 4 of the (*Wu-pei*) *ti-li* (advantages of the Geographical Location); maps for the communication with foreign countries".

On Phillips' chart, however, the marginal note reads "*Wu-pei-chih*, *ti êhr-pai-ssü-shih-chüan*, *hang-hai-chien-hsüan*", 武備志第二百四十卷航海檢選, i.e. "Chapter 240 of the *Wu-pei-chih*, (Notes on Military Preparation), Selection from Sea-voyages".

The "*Wu-pei-ti-li*" being merely part of the "*Wu-pei-pi-shu*", and the marginal note on Phillips' chart showing clearly that it was taken from the "*Wu-pei-chih*", Duyvendak dismisses the "*Wu-pei-pi-shu*" as being merely a compilation.

He then engages (p. 17) upon a brilliant piece of historical research regarding the origin and authorship of the "*Wu-pei-chih*" and the antecedents of the chart.

The British Museum has four imperfect copies of the *Wu-pei-chih*: none of them contains the chart.

The Library of Congress at Washington has an edition of the *Wu-pei-chih*: it is in 64 volumes: the last volume contains the charts as given by Phillips, says Duyvendak.

The preface is dated 1621: it was offered to the throne in 1628, so that it was not printed until after that date.

The author was one "Mao Yüan-yi" of the Ming dynasty: he fought against the Manchus and in 1629 helped to recover four cities from them, but later his soldiers revolted and he was banished to Chang-p'u in Fukien: he died of drunkenness: the year is not recorded. This "Mao Yüan-yi" was the grandson of one "Mao K'un" who lived from 1511-1601: and "Mao K'un" was the collaborator of one "Hu Tsung-hsien".

"Hu Tsung-hsien's" life-work was the defence of the Chinese coast against the Japanese pirates: he held various high offices, was governor of Fukien province, and rose to be a President of the Ministry of War: he was the author of several books and inspired the publication of a large work on coast-defence, illustrated with numerous maps, called "*Ch'ou-hai-t'u-pien*" (籌海圖編).

The preface of that work, dated 1562, was written by "Mao K'un."

Another collaborator in its compilation was a certain "Chêng Jo-tsêng", who wrote many other geographical works with maps.

Duyvendak mentions those details in order to show that in the circle to which "Mao K'un" belonged, the most vivid interest was taken in matters of geography of the coast: and he suggests that as "Mao K'un" lived so long, he may easily have transferred some of that interest to his grandson "Mao Yüan-yi".

"We may even regard it as probable" he adds "that the map, which Mao Yüan-yi published in his work, formed part of that geographical material, that was collected by Hu Tsung-hsien's circle and may have been deposited in his archives, when he was governor of Fukien".

So Duyvendak ascribes to "Mao K'un" the credit of being the person who really appreciated the value of these charts, and he thinks that it was "Mao K'un" who wrote the introduction and the explanatory notes to the charts. Thus Duyvendak traces the charts back to the second or third quarter of the sixteenth century, only a little more than a hundred years after the time of "Chêng Ho", the celebrated Chinese envoy who returned from his last official voyage in 1433.

The Chart "is supposed to give Chêng Ho's travelling route" says Duyvendak (*op. cit.* p. 17): Pelliot thinks "elle a 1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*."

été établie au temps" of Chêng Ho's voyages and Fujita Toyohachi does not hesitate to call it "Chart of the maritime voyages of Tcheng Hou". (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. (1933). p. 268).

The introduction, after a brief reference to "Chêng Ho" as having been employed by the Emperor for these foreign explorations, concludes with the words "His maps record carefully and correctly the distances of the road and of the various countries and I have inserted them for the information of posterity and as a memento of military achievements".

Though preceded in point of time by "Ma Pin", "Wu Pin", and "Ch'ang K'o-ching" who were sent on official missions by sea in or about 1403, Chêng Ho was the most famous of the eunuch envoys sent abroad in the beginning of the fifteenth century (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XVI. (1915). p. 84). Incidentally, it may be noted that he was a Muhammadan, and the son of a "Haji". (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXXII. (1936). p. 212).

He was sent on his first voyage by the Emperor in July, 1405, and reached the capital on his return from his seventh and last voyage in July, 1433. (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. pp. 275, 311).

On his staff were at least three persons who wrote books, namely "Kong Tchen" whose work remains so far undiscovered, and "Ma Huan" and "Fei Hsin" whose books have come down to us.

Of Chinese works written at about this epoch and containing references to places in the Malay Peninsula, the following may be noted:—

"Chao Ju-kua": "*Chu fan chih*",
"Records of Foreign Nations",
1225.

"Wang Ta-yüan": "*Tao i chih lio*",
"Description of the Barbarians of the Isles",
1349.

"Fei Hsin": "*Hsing ch'a shêng lan*",
"Description of the starry raft",
1436.

"Ma Huan": "*Ying yai shêng lan*",
"Description of the coasts of the Ocean",
1451.

"Huang Shêng ts'êng": "*Hsi yang chao kung tien lu*",
"Record of the Tributary Nations of the West",
1520.

"Chau Ju-kua's" book, with an English translation by Hirth and Rockhill, was published in 1912.

Translation from the books of "Wang Ta-yüan", "Fei Hsin", "Ma Huan" and "Huang Shêng ts'eng" will be found in

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XV, Part III,

Groeneveldt's perenially valuable paper "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca" (*Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*. (1887). p. 126), and in Rockhill's "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and coasts of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century" (*T'oung Pao*. Vol XV. (1914). p. 419: and Vol. XVI. (1915). pp. 61, 236, 374, 435, 604).

One now considers the date of the Charts.

Phillips expresses the opinion that these Charts are older than the commencement of the fifteenth century: Gerini thinks that they were drafted about 1399. Certainly some of the data incorporated in them may be referred to the fourteenth century, since the "*Nagarakretagama*" (1365) mentions, for instance, "Sai" and "Tumasik" (Ferrand. *Relations de Voyages*. (1914). p. 663).

But Ma Huan (1451) says of Malacca "Formerly it was not called a kingdom, but as there were five islands on the coast, it was called the five islands....In the year 1409 the imperial envoy, Chêng Ho....raised the place to a city, after which the land was called the kingdom of Malacca". (Groeneveldt. *loc. cit.* p. 243).

It seems a fair inference from this statement that the Chinese did not call the town Malacca until 1409; and if that is correct, these Charts cannot be dated before that year.

Further it seems natural to infer from the expressions "His maps" and "as a memento of military achievements" occurring in the introduction, that Chêng Ho was responsible for the maps. On the whole one thinks that the more conservative-minded will deem it unsafe to conclude that the Charts can be dated prior to Chêng Ho's final return in 1433.

It may well be that the data were collected by various officers on different voyages during a number of years. The fast passage from Pedra Branca to Pulau Aur (75 miles in 5 watches or about $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles an hour, as compared with the average of 2.93 miles an hour for the voyage from "Samudra" to Pulau Branca) suggests that the voyage was made with the "Angin Tenggara", a fresh South east wind occasionally reaching almost moderate gale force; this wind may be encountered at any time between April and October.

The fact that these maps are of such a different character from the ordinary Chinese maps indicates, Duyvendak thinks (p. 22), that they are not purely Chinese work but are based on the nautical charts of the Arabs; and Pelliot is convinced that they had an Arab nautical chart as a prototype (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. (1933). p. 268).

Phillips' paper is accompanied by two Charts: speaking generally, the one gives the sea-routes from Samudra (near

Pasai on the north coast of Sumatra*) to Africa, the other the sea-routes from Samudra to China : the present paper is concerned with a portion of the second Chart only. The Chart takes the form of a long horizontal strip on which divergent sea-routes are shown as more or less parallel, and the coast-line, irrespective of its true direction, is represented as one irregular line running from left to right : Gerini describes the Chart as giving directions for a coasting voyage ; this is not wholly accurate since parts of the voyage, for instance from Sumatra to Ceylon, or from Pulau Aur to Pulau Condor, are not proximate to any coast.

Tracings from three portions of Phillips' Chart accompany this paper : for purposes of comparison, corresponding portions of a modern map are reproduced side by side with the Chinese Chart.

To glance at the Chart is to realize that it scarcely accords with modern ideas of cartographical exactitude ; though perhaps it ill becomes us to cast stones at the fifteenth century Chinese navigator so long as we ourselves adhere to Mercator's projection which in low and high latitudes gives grotesquely inaccurate results.†

There can be little doubt that the Chinese mappist could, had he wished, have drawn a much more accurate representation of the trend of the coast-line and the relative position of the islands ; the fact that he does not do so suggests that he purposely adopted the method of the Chart in order to compress a number

*Pelliot has recently repudiated the old identification of "*Su mên ta la*" with Acheh, and accepted the identification with Samudra on the Pasai River ; but he gives no reasons (*T'oung Pao*. Vol XXXII. (1936), p. 214). One feels fairly confident in saying that the Chart fixes the position of "*Su mên ta la*" within about 14 miles. The Chart represents that from "*Su mên ta la*", it took the vessel 5 watches to round Diamond Point on courses of 30°, 120°, and 105°, 120°.

These waters would be sheltered from all southerly winds and one finds that in the sheltered waters of the Straits the maximum distance travelled in 5 watches was about 54 miles (Malacca to Gunong Banang) and the minimum about 22 miles (The Kerimun Islands to Coney Islet), with a middle distance of about 38 miles.

The maximum distance would fix "*Su mên ta la*" at Agam Agam about 20 miles west of the Pasai River, and the minimum distance at Pidada about 7 miles east of the Pasai River : a spot nearly equidistant from those two places (*i.e.* near the light in 5° 13' N, 97° 10' E, on Agu point, north of Semawi town) is less than 14 miles from either.

The most probable location indicated by the Chart is provided by the middle distance of about 38 miles : this would fix "*Su mên ta la*" near Meraksa about 5 miles west of the Pasai River.

The distance from the Pasai River on the prescribed courses would be about 32 miles.

On the other hand the distance from the mouth of the "Achin River" to the east of Diamond Point is some 159 miles.

† The "Mercator Projection" now finds a rival in the "Gnomonic Projection" on certain charts which are specially prepared for use of the fast steamship making its way with little respect for the wind but much respect for the nearest "Great Circle" route between port and port." Curnow. *The World Mapped*. (1930), p. 65.

of diverging routes within the limits of a single sheet of paper, to make merely a diagrammatic representation,—the kind of route-diagram, simple but inaccurate, which one sees on the London Underground Railway.

Maybe, too, that the Chinese navigator was familiar with certain conventions,—a sort of 'cartographical shorthand'—which enabled him to understand and interpret the Chart. However that may be, the method of the Chart makes it difficult for strangers and foreigners to unravel it: no accurate inferences as to distance can be drawn from the relative positions of places marked on the Chart; for instance, Pulau Pisang is shown at the mouth of what appears to be the Batu Pahat River, whereas in reality Pulau Pisang is 35 miles further down the coast: nor can any accurate inferences as to distance be drawn from the number of "kēngs" (watches) occupied in the journey between two places; for instance, the Chart states that 5 "kēngs" will be occupied in the journey from the Kerimun Islands to Coney Islet, and 5 "kēngs" in the journey from Pedra Branca to Pulau Aur, whereas the actual distances between those places are 22 miles and 75 miles respectively.

The "kēng" or watch of 2.4 hours in Chinese navigation is usually reckoned as 60 *li*, 20 English miles: Phillips takes Chêng Ho's watch as equal to 16 English miles, but he adds, rather pathetically, "its real value is somewhat difficult to determine". One realizes that the distance travelled in one watch, depending as it does on different conditions of wind and sea, may vary from a few yards to some 10, or in exceptional circumstances, perhaps 20 miles; all that one wishes to emphasize is that, in interpreting this Chart, no accurate conclusion as to distance can be derived from the period of time taken to travel between two places; this emphasis is the more necessary when, in an age of power-driven vessels whose speed is under normal conditions nearly constant, time and distance are almost correlative.

A further difficulty lies in the fact that we do not know in which Chinese "language" or "dialect" a particular name is intended to be represented; Edwards and Blagden were confronted with this difficulty when explaining the "Malacca Vocabulary" (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. Vol. VI, Part 3. (1931), p. 715); a "classic" example is provided by the transcription of the Malay name Muhammad; the Chinese designation 麻霞勿 is unintelligible in Pekingese, "Ma-hsia-wu", yet readily understandable in Cantonese, "Ma-ha-mêt".

In this paper, all Chinese characters (except in quotations) are, unless otherwise stated, given the phonetic equivalent which they bear in the Pekingese dialect: words in the Amoy dialect are, unless otherwise stated, spelled as in Douglas' "*Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy*":

words in other dialects are spelled as in Giles' "*A Chinese-English Dictionary in the Pekingese dialect*".

In cases where it appears that the Chinese characters may represent a name transcribed in some dialect other than Pekingese, the phonetic equivalent in that dialect as well as in Pekingese is given, so that the reader may decide for himself.

An apparent difficulty arises in connection with the compass directions: in the Chinese compass the circle of 360° is divided into 24 angles of 15° each: when a single direction is given in the Chart, no trouble arises; for instance when the Chart states that the course from Pulau Pisang is in the direction 巽 [sun], one can see from the compass that 135° is intended: but sometimes two directions are given; for instance, the Chart says that from Malacca the direction is 辰巽 [Ch'en sun, 120° , 135°]; in this case the layman may feel uncertain whether the pilot means

- (a) the direction is first 120° and then 135° , or
- (b) the direction is mid-way between 120° and 135° i.e. $127\frac{1}{2}^\circ$,
or
- (c) the direction is, roughly, somewhere between 120° and 135° .

To the expert, however, there is no difficulty: Mr. Best explains:—"The double bearings can, I consider, be simply explained. The mariner set out on the first course and then found, possibly on raising the island or point for which he was heading, that he was off his course; he then corrected accordingly. It is a perfectly normal and correct procedure even in modern navigation with accurately plotted courses and gyroscopic compasses.

In certain cases, as on the stretch from "Samudra" to Diamond Point, the changes of course are obviously determined by the trend of the coast he was following. In others, say from the Kerimun Islands to Coney Islet, he was probably slightly wrong on his first course and was set further off by the tide."

One may add that Sinological experts are hesitant to express an opinion on technical questions of five centuries ago.

It is only fair to emphasize that a very high standard of accuracy cannot reasonably be expected from the Chinese pilot of 1433: those were early days in the manufacture of the compass; his instrument may well have been liable to error; and he may not have understood the disturbing factors constituted by iron in his ship and by local terrestrial magnetism; even in 1613 Eredia speaks of this latter cause as though it were quite a recent discovery (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. VIII, Part I. (1930), p. 84); furthermore, it is possible that the magnetic variation which has occurred since 1433, may have made the Chinese pilot's directions appear less accurate than they actually were at that date, but the present writer is not competent to discuss that point.

On this subject, Mr. Best writes:—"I have taken the bearings given in the Chinese Chart and have plotted and 'swung' them to fit over a modern map. (In the case of double bearings, half the distance is run on the first bearing and half on the second). The test is made from a point about eight miles off the coast at Bukit Jugra to a comparatively accurate fixing off Raffles Light, and it would indicate that the Chinese navigator was using a compass with a variation of only about 5° (W) from true north. The "offings" or distances out from Cape Rachado, Water Islands and Pulau Pisang fit in remarkably well and the figure of 5° is in all probability correct within 2° — 3° either way.

At first sight this seems almost too good to be true, but the variation between magnetic and true north has presumably remained almost stationary throughout the last few centuries, and a wooden-ship, unless she carried iron cannon somewhere near the compass, would produce very little deviation so the result is not very surprising".

The Chinese designation of Malayan place-names may be divided into 5 main classes:—

- (1) purely Chinese names given by the Chinese themselves; for instance, Pulau Tinggi is called "*Chiang chün mao*", "General's Hat":
- (2) translations of Malay names; for instance, the Sembilan Islands are called "*Chiu chou*", "Nine Islands":
- (3) transcriptions of Malay names, for instance, Pulau Pisang is called "*Pi-sang* Island" (Amoy Hokkien):
- (4) transcriptions of Malay names modified either
 - (a) for the sake of assonance, according to Ferrand; for instance, Pahang is called "*p'eng heng*", the character "*p'eng*" being intentionally employed from its assonance with "*heng*", or
 - (b) to give a meaning in Chinese, for instance, (Pulau) Langkawi is called "*Leng ge kau i*" (Amoy Hokkien), "Dragon's Tooth Arm Chair":
- (5) names which cannot be fitted into the above classes; for instance, in the Chinese name "*Ku li yu pu tang*" the expression "*Ku li yu*" appears to represent the Cham word "*culao*", "island"; in the case of other appellations, again, the state of our knowledge does not enable us to derive the name of a place, although its location may be fixed with reasonable certainty; for instance, "*She chien shan*" is in all probability to be identified with Gunong Banang, but one cannot say as yet whether "Shoot-arrows Mountain" is a purely Chinese designation, or whether "*She-chien* Mountain" represents some foreign name.

Photostatic copies both of Phillips' map and of the *Hai-yün-yao-lüeh* map (as well as the other Malayan maps mentioned in this paper) may be found at Raffles Library, in "A Collection of Historical Maps of Malaya" recently compiled.

The latter of the two Chinese maps is so very much less accurate than the former that it is more curious than useful: but it is not entirely without utility, for instance, in several cases it states that the ship "passes" (過, *kuo*) a certain place where Phillips' map uses the expression 取, *ch'ü*, and it thus resolves the doubt whether the latter expression means "make for" or "make" (*i.e.* reach); furthermore, in one case it gives an additional name of which there is no trace in Phillips' map, immediately south of "Long-sai-ka" (Amoy Hokkien) which the present writer identifies with *Langkasuka* (Patani), it marks "Kun-e-ti River" (Amoy Hokkien), which presumably represents some such Malay name as *kunyit*.

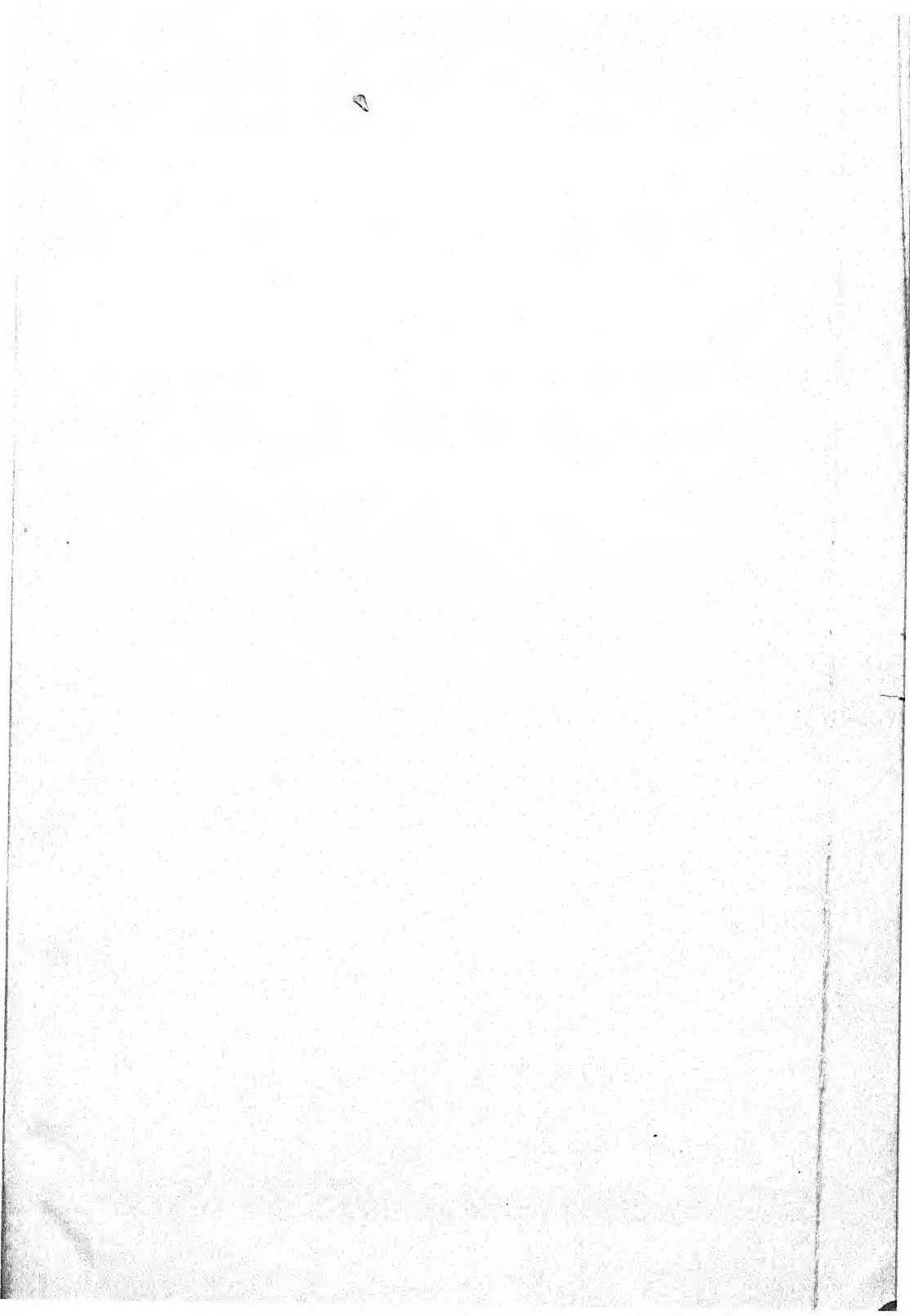
II. THE CHART.

For cartographical and other reasons it has been thought convenient to treat the Chart in three sections; the first, the Butang Islands to the Kerimun Islands; the second, the Kerimun Islands to Pedra Branca; the third, Pedra Branca to Singora.

In each section, the writer has first set out the Chinese names with suggested identifications, then reproduced the sailing-directions of the Chart, and lastly added some comments and explanations.

First Section: Butang Islands to Kerimun Islands. (See Plate I).

古力由不洞	<i>Ku li yu pu tung</i>	Butang Islands
龍牙交椅	<i>Lung ya chiao i</i>	Pulau Langkawi
吉達港	<i>Chi ta Chiang</i>	Merbok River
檳榔嶼	<i>Pin lang hsü</i>	Penang Island
陳公嶼	<i>Ch'ên kung hsü</i>	Pulau Jarak
九州小	<i>Chiu chow hsiao</i>	Sembilan Islands
吉那大山	<i>Chi na ta shan</i>	False Parcelar
吉令港	<i>Chi ling Chiang</i>	Klang River
雞骨嶼	<i>Chi ku hsü</i>	Aroa Islands
綿花淺	<i>Mien hua ch'ien</i>	South Sands
綿花嶼	<i>Mien hua hsü</i>	Parcelar Hill



假五嶼	<i>Chia wu hsü</i>	Cape Rachado
官廠	<i>Kuan ch'ang</i>	Official Building
滿刺加	<i>Man la chia</i>	Malacca
射箭山	<i>She chien shan</i>	Gunong Banang
毘宋嶼	<i>P'i sung hsü</i>	Pulau Pisang
平州	<i>P'ing chou</i>	The Brothers
吉利門	<i>Chi li mên</i>	Kerimun Islands

The Chinese sailing-directions begin from the port of

蘇門峇刺, *Su mên ta la*, Samudra harbour, near Pasai on the north coast of Sumatra: this port was also the starting-point of the voyage to the Nicobar Islands and to Ceylon. (*cf.* Gerini. *op. cit.* p. 692).

For the eastward voyage the directions lead the navigator through 急水灣 [*Chi shui wan*, "Strong Current Bay", *i.e.* Telok Semawi Bay] to 巴碌頭 [*Pa lu t'ou*, Perlak Head, *i.e.* Diamond Point] and then in a south-easterly direction past 甘杯港 [*Kan pei chiang*, Kanpei River, perhaps the Perlak River],

亞路 [*Ya lu*, Aru, *i.e.* Deli],

單嶼 [*Tan hsü*, "Single Island", *i.e.* Pulau Berhala],

雙嶼 [*Shuang hsü*, "Double Island", *i.e.* The Brothers],

to 雞骨嶼 [*Chi ku hsü*, "Chicken Bone Island, *i.e.* the Aroa Islands],

where the ship approaches peninsular waters.

The directions continue "Abreast of 雞骨嶼" [*Ch ku hsü*, "Chicken Bone Island", *i.e.* the Aroa Islands] "following a course of exactly 辰" [*Ch'en*, 120°] "and then of 辰乙" [*Ch'en yi*, 120°, 105°] "the ship after three watches is level with 綿花淺" [*Mien hua ch'ien*, "Cotton Shoals", *i.e.* South Sands]; "following a course of 乙辰" [*Yi ch'en*, 105°, 120°] "and then of exactly 辰" [*Ch'en*, 120°] "the ship after three watches is level with 綿花淺" [*Mien hua ch'ien*, "Cotton Shoals", *i.e.* South Sands: this is obviously a mislection for 綿花嶼, *Mien hua hsü*, "Cotton Island", *i.e.* Parcelar Hill]; "following a course of 辰癸" [*Ch'en sun*, 120°, 135°]

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"the ship after eleven watches is off 滿刺加" [*Man la chia*, i.e. Malacca]. "From the locality of 滿刺加" [*Man la chia*, i.e. Malacca], "following a course of 辰巽" [*Ch'en sun*, 120° 135°], "the ship after five watches is level with 射箭山" [*She chien shan*, i.e. Gunong Banang]; "following a course of 辰巽" [*Ch'en sun*, 120°, 135°] "the ship after three watches is level with 毘宋嶼" [*P'i sung hsü*, i.e. Pulau Pisang]: "following a course of exactly 巽" [*Sun*, 135°] "the ship makes 吉利" [*Chi li*, i.e. the Kerimun Islands].

The chart gives few names in the northern part of the peninsula on the west coast: in fact, between Tenasserim (荖那思里, *Ta na ssu li*) and the Butang Islands only one name appears, viz. 擲掛頭山, *Tu kua t'ou shan*, "Tu-kua Head-mountain": this must be located on the coast of Siam, where the name "Tu-kua" may still be found, for instance, in the forms Takua-thai, Takua-thung, and Takua-pa. The most obvious point in this region is the southern extreme of Junkseylon Island, called Lem Voalan, and this probably represents the "Tu-kua Head-mountain" of the chart.

古 力 由 不 洞

Ku li yu pu tung.

Ku lat iu put tang (Amoy Hokkien).

One identifies this place with the Butang Islands for two reasons: first, because of its situation in regard to Pulau Langkawi, and secondly, because of the similarity in nomenclature—*Ku lat iu* — Kulau (pulau), "island", and *Put tang* — Butang.

Ku lat iu may represent the Malay word "pulau", since there is some confusion between *k* and *p* among the Chinese: for instance according to Douglas' Dictionary (pp. 250 and 385), *kui*, "the gable of a house", is also called *pui*; and one sometimes hears Chinese saying "bulan kuasa" when referring to "bulan puasa", the Malay fasting month.

On the other hand, *Ku lat iu* may represent the Cham word "Kulau", "island"; still used in Indo-China, e.g., Kulao Cham, Kulao Rai, etc.

If it is a Cham word, presumably either the Chinese brought it with them from China or Champa where they first learnt it, and applied it in the Malayan region; or they found it being used on the spot, in which case its use will constitute an instance of Cham influence on the west coast of the peninsula: according

to the "Sejarah Melayu" a Cham prince, Indra Brahma, took refuge with Sultan Mansur of Malacca (c. 1458-1477), and his brother, Poling, ascended the throne of Acheh [in about 1471]: to this latter fact Gerini attributes the introduction into the Achehnese dialect of many comparatively modern Cham words, such as *gle* (*glai*), "hill", "cliff", and *lam* (*lang*), "village" (Gerini. *op. cit.* p. 696-7).

One may here draw attention to another supposed reference to the Butang Islands in early times.

In 1293 when Kublai Khan's Java expedition had reached Champa, envoys were sent to "call into submission Lambri, Sumatra, Pu-lu-pu-tu, Pa-la-la and other smaller countries": envoys of the different smaller States which accepted the Chinese over-lordship afterwards returned to China with the Mongol-Chinese army. From its connection with Lambri and Sumatra (Samudra), it is suggested that this "Pu-lu-pu-tu" (不魯不都) was Pulau Butang (*cf.* Groeneveldt in "*Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China*". Second Series. Vol. I. (1887). p. 155, and *Journal Asiatique*. Tome XIII. (1919). p. 468).^{*} One gathers from the "Mohit" (1554) that one of the Butang Islands was the Malayan starting-point on the sea-route followed by the Arab ships proceeding *viâ* the Nicobar Islands to Ceylon (Ferrand. *Relations de Voyages*. (1914), p. 492). Their importance was probably due to the abundance of wood and water to be found there.

龍	牙	交	椅	
Lung	ya	chiao	yi	
Lung	nga	kau	i	(Cantonese)
Lung	nga	kau	ye	(Fuchow Hokkien)
Leng	ge	kau	i	(Amoy Hokkien)

There can be no doubt that this place must be identified with Pulau Langkawi: the Chinese name, however, meaning "Dragon's Tooth Arm-chair" may well be a distortion of the original: the island has borne different names at different times and among different people, *e.g.* Lankapuri, Lankavari, Langkawi, Nangkawi (Gerini. *op. cit.* p. 486).

^{*}Mr. Best comments:—"The calling into submission of "Pu-lu-pu-tu" presupposes a reasonably large community settled in the place. I have been to the Butang group and doubt whether such a community ever existed. With the exception of Pulau Nipis the islands are steep and broken, the anchorages deep and unsafe for small vessels and the whole area exposed to the S.W. monsoon and to the "Angin Utara" during the N.E. monsoon. Pulau Nipis supports, or did support up till 1931, a small community of "orang laut" but the place is surrounded by coral reefs and is a nightmare in bad weather. For the above reasons one cannot help wondering why the Arabs did not use the excellent anchorage in Kuah, Lankawi, instead, unless this was too close for comfort to Malay or Siamese influence in Kedah".

One cannot say for certain which dialect was used to reproduce the name: the Amoy Hokkien sound is perhaps the nearest, and if this dialect was employed, it suggests a form "Lengkawi": in fact the first vowel seems to have been indeterminate,

as the "Mohit" gives a reading "Lkai", لكاي

(Ferrand. *op. cit.* p. 531).

Regarding the Chinese name Mr. Best notes:—"From the west or seaward side, the end of Langkawi near Gunong Chin-chang and Tanjong Ular, presents a remarkable saw-toothed outline of jagged peaks".

吉

達

港

Chi

ta

chiang

Kiet*

tat

kang

(Amoy Hokkien)

Doubtless this river is "Kedah River": but the question arises, "Which river at that date was Kedah River?"

Nowadays the name "Kedah River" is applied to the Sungei Kedah, of which the mouth lies in $6^{\circ} 06' N$.

"Old Kedah" (about 26 miles away) lies at the entrance of the Sungei Merbok in $5^{\circ} 41' N$: according to Gerini the present "Kedah River" has been so-called only since the establishment on its bank of the new seat of Government for Kedah in 1720, or somewhat earlier (*op. cit.* p. 485): some change, however, was made about 1634, since Berthelot's map of 1635 (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. XII. Part II. facing p. 178) already marks "Quedah lama" (old Quedah), while the map of Mercator and Hondius published in Jansson's Atlas of 1633 marks "Queda" only; so does the 1613 map of Eredia (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. XVIII. Part I, facing p. 215): it is true that Eredia (*loc. cit.* p. 235) says that "Queda" lies in six degrees, but he is not absolutely accurate in his latitudes; for instance, he puts (p. 234) "Calam" (Klang) in 4 degrees, whereas its correct situation is $3^{\circ} 02'$.

On the whole it seems preferable to accept Eredia's statement (p. 235) that "Quedah" was "a very ancient and famous port": this must be *old* Kedah. If Ferrand is right in identifying I-tsing's "Kie-tch'a" (揭茶) with Kedah (*Journal Asiatique*. Tome XIV. (1919). p. 225), the name dates from the seventh century.

Winstedt remarks that for two thousand years there has been direct continual commerce between the Coromandel Coast and Kedah (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. XIII. Part I. (1935). p. 5).

*This character is regularly used to represent the Malay *hē*, as in Kêling (Kling).

As to this identification, Mr. Best writes:—"I should say unquestionably the present Merbok River. The present Kedah River, owing to the geological formation, can never have been much different from what it is now—a shallow mouthed estuary within which a vessel drawing more than 6-8 feet would possibly be "neaped" for periods up to a fortnight by poor tides: the roadstead is hopelessly exposed to the S.W. monsoon. On the other hand, Kuala Merbok gives every indication of having always been a deep entrance, and it is still connected by a deep navigable channel with the Muda River, which in the old days undoubtedly carried nine tenths of Kedah's exportable produce. Knowing this area well, I am convinced that this channel, which runs through an extensive swamp, was once much larger than it is now and may possibly have been the main outlet of the Muda. The old town was probably on the south side opposite the present village of Tanjong Dawei or else at the place some three miles up, now known as Lubok Pusing".

檳	榔	嶼
Pin	lang	hsü
Pin	nng	su

(Amoy Hokkien, colloquial).

Clearly this island is Penang: the Amoy colloquial pronunciation exactly reproduces the sound of the Cham word *pinang* (Aymonier and Cabaton. *Dictionnaire Cam-Francais*. (1906). p. 287), which in Malay takes the form *pinang*, "areca".

The word had long been known to the Chinese: it is referred to in the "earliest botanical work extant...the 南方草木狀 *Nân fang ts'aou muh chwang*" [*i.e.* "the appearance of the plants and trees of southern parts"] "by Ke Han of the Tsin dynasty" [265-411 A.D.] "which forms an interesting record of the trees and plants then known in the Kwang-tung and Kwang-se region" (Wylie. *Notes on Chinese Literature*. (1901). p. 150.)

The Chart does not give any indication that the island was inhabited: Navarette records that it was uninhabited when he visited it in 1669 (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol XII. Part II. (1934). p. 93): and the first Charter of Justice granted in 1807 recites that when Prince of Wales' Island was ceded (*i.e.* in 1785), the island was wholly uninhabited: but it was not always so, for in 1786 Dalrymple published a chart purporting to be made by Captain Alves in 1763; on the southern coast of the island appears the legend "A Town here".

陳	公	嶼
Ch'en	kung	hsü.

One cannot say why "Master Ch'en's island" was so-called: but having regard to its position in relation to *Tan hsü* (Single 1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

Island", *i.e.* Pulau Berhala), *Shuang hsü* ("Double Island", *i.e.* The Brothers), and *Chiu chou hsiao* ("Nine Islands, small", *i.e.* the Sembilan Islands), it can be none other than Pulau Jarak.

九	州	小
<i>Chiu</i>	<i>chou</i>	<i>hsiao.</i>

The "Nine Islands, small", must, in view of their name and their situation on the Chart, be identified with the Sembilan Islands, the "nine" islands, off the mouth of the Perak River.

吉	那	大	山	
<i>Chi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>shan</i>	
<i>Kiet</i>	<i>na</i>	{ <i>tai</i> <i>toa</i> }	<i>san</i>	(Amoy Hokkien).

The identification of "*Chi-na-ta* Mountain" presents some difficulty: it is represented on the chart as lying a little inland from the coast, between the Sembilan Islands and the Klang River.

There are few hills in the alluvial coastal plain: the hill at Kuala Selangor and that at Jeram are scarcely high enough to be of much assistance to the mariner, and within 15 miles of the coast there is no other hill as much as 500 feet high except False Parcelar (Bukit Panjang, 790 feet), North Hummock (741 feet) and Bukit Cherakah (699 feet).

One suggests that False Parcelar is referred to in the Chinese chart, because

- (a) it is the highest,
- (b) by reason of its resemblance to Parcelar Hill, False Parcelar is of unusual significance to mariners, and "Parcelar" is a "seaman's" name.

The Chinese name is difficult to interpret: presumably the Amoy Hokkien form "*Kiet na tai (toa)*" is intended to represent some such Malay name as *Kreteh* (Kretay), *Kalatoa*, or *Kra Tua*.

吉	令	港
<i>Chi</i>	<i>ling</i>	<i>chiang</i>
<i>Kiet</i>	<i>leng</i>	<i>kang</i>

(Amoy Hokkien).

Clearly this river is the Klang River, called today by the same name written with the same characters.

The name appears in the "Nagarakretagama", 1365 (Ferrand. *Relations de voyages*. (1914). p. 663).

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雞	骨	嶼	
<i>Chi</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>hsü</i>	
<i>Koe</i>	<i>kut</i>	<i>su</i>	(Amoy Hokkien).

The "Chi Ku" islands, judging by their position with regard to other places on the chart and in particular their situation at the western end of the east-and-west Channel across the Strait, must be identified with the Aroa Islands. The name appears in other sailing-directions; cf. for instance, the directions given by Huang Shêng tsêng (1520) for the journey from Malacca to Samudra (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XVI. (1915). p. 145).

The Chinese characters mean "Chicken bone Island"; perhaps, however, they may be a transcription of some such Malayan word as "gekok" (cf. *T'oung Pao*. Vol. XVI. (1915). p. 342).

綿	花	淺	
<i>Mien</i>	<i>hua</i>	<i>ch'ien</i> .	

"Cotton Shoals", half way along the channel from the Aroa Islands to the coast of the Peninsula, must represent the South Sands, which the British Admiralty Pilot describes as, for sailing vessels, the most dangerous part of Malacca Strait (*Malacca Strait Pilot*. (1924). p. 157).

The line of course directed to be taken from the Aroa Islands to Parcelar Hill indicates, thinks Mr. Best, that the pilot desired to ensure that the vessel should pass safely to the north of what was known to be an extensive and dangerously shallow area opposite Parcelar Hill.

綿	花	嶼	
<i>Min</i>	<i>hua</i>	<i>hsü</i> .	

"Cotton Island" at the eastern end of the east-and-west channel must be identified with Parcelar Hill (Bukit Jugra, 790 feet high), the landmark recognized by mariners of many races for several centuries.

This sea-area, from the Aroa Islands to the islands off Kuala Klang, was called *Kafasi* by the Arabs and *Capasia* by the Portuguese: other nations adopted the same nomenclature, and the Italian map of Maiollo, 1515 (Royal Library, Munich. Codex Monacensis, icon. 735. fol. 2) marks "Bassi di Capacia", "shoals of Capacia" at this point of the Straits: the name last appears as "Basses de Capaciar" in Desceliers' map of 1553.

In another Chinese itinerary (set out in the *Hsi Yang Chao Kung tien lu*, or "Record of the Tributary Nations of the West" 1937] *Royal Asiatic Society*.

dating from 1520) Parcelar Hill is called Chi pei (吉貝) island, and as *chi pei* (in Amoy Hokkien vernacular *Ka pa*) was the old Chinese name for "cotton", the present writer has in another place sought to show that the Arab, Chinese, and Portuguese names were derived from the Malay *kapas*, or the Hindustani *kāpas*, meaning "cotton". (cf. *J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. IX. Part I. (1923), p. 18).

It may be, however, that the Chinese themselves learnt the word from the Chams, as in the Cham language "cotton" is "kaph". The designation "island", applied by Turkish, Arabic, and Chinese writers, would appear to date from the time when Bukit Jugra was surrounded by sea, as Penang is at the present day. Parcelar Hill perhaps represents the 加八山 (*Chia pa shan*; in Amoy Hokkien "*Ka-pa* mountain"), mentioned in the itinerary of the Chola ambassador who reached Canton in 1009 (*Journal Asiatique*. Tome XIV. (1919), p. 40).

假	五	嶼
<i>Chia</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>hsü.</i>

"False Five Islands", situated between Parcelar Hill and Malacca must in all probability be identified with Cape Rachado: it seems scarcely possible that the Chinese pilot would ignore such a salient feature in the coast-line. "Five Islands" was the early Chinese name for Malacca, and presumably the designation "False Five Islands" was given to Cape Rachado, because at a distance the general aspect of the locality was considered to bear some resemblance to Malacca.

Mr. Best remarks that the group of hills or ridge forming Cape Rachado could have easily been mistaken, at a distance, for the Water Islands off Malacca, especially if the navigator was not familiar with the coast and not sure of his position.

Elsewhere, the writer has sought to identify the "False Five Islands" of the chart with the "False King's Island" of the itinerary given in the *Hsi Yang Chao Kung tien lu*.

滿	刺	加
<i>Man</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>chia</i>
<i>Ma(n)</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ka</i> (Amoy Hokkien; Tung-an)

This, obviously, represents Malacca: except in one solitary instance, the name is always written with these characters.

The *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* ("General Account of the Shores of the Ocean", written by Ma Huan, 1451) states "Formerly it was not called a kingdom, but as there were five islands on the coast, it was called the five islands....In the year 1409 the Imperial

envoy, Chêng Ho... raised the place to a city, after which the land was called the Kingdom of Malacca".

It seems a fair inference from this statement that the Chinese did not use the name "Malacca" until 1409: and if that is correct, these Charts cannot be dated before that year, although some of the statements in them may be older. It does not follow, however, that the Malays did not use the name before 1409.

官 廠

Kuan ch'ang.

The "Official Building", marked near Malacca, was probably the office of the "Shahbandar" (Harbour Master), who negotiated with foreign merchants and imposed the appropriate toll on their goods.

射 箭 山

She ch'ien shan

Sia chi(n) san (Amoy Hokkien, colloquial).

"Shoot arrows Mountain" between Malacca and Pulau Pisang cannot either be identified or explained with certainty. In this stretch of country there are no hills over 323 feet within 12 miles of the coast, except Mount Ophir, Bukit Mor, and the Banang range.

Presumably the choice must rest between the two comparatively highest mountains, *i.e.* Mount Ophir (Gunong Ledang, 4187 feet high) 20 miles from the coast, and Gunong Banang (1410 feet high) 4 miles from the coast.

The former, however, seems rather too far inland to be a satisfactory navigation-mark, and it is often obscured by cloud.

Moreover, up to a distance of 4 miles out to sea, Gunong Banang will appear higher than Mount Ophir.

Gunong Banang seems to have been a more useful landmark for mariners than Mount Ophir; more of the old maps contain vignettes of the former than of the latter: the *Malacca Strait Pilot* (1924), too, includes a photograph of the former (facing p. 164) but not of the latter.

Further, the Chart states that it took eight watches to travel from the locality of Malacca to the Pisang Islands, a distance of 86 miles: five watches were occupied until the vessel was "level with" "Shoot Arrows Mountain", and three watches until the vessel was level with the Pisang Islands: the distance from Malacca to Gunong Banang and from Gunong Banang to the Pisang Islands is 54 miles and 32 miles respectively: this is almost exactly proportionate to the number of watches occupied: on

the other hand the distance from Malacca to a spot where Mount Ophir comes abeam is only some 14 miles : a speed of 14 miles in five watches is appreciably slower than in any other part of the journey, and a speed of 72 miles in three watches to the Pisang Islands is incredibly fast.

One may note, too, that Careri (1695), while making no mention of Mount Ophir, speaks of "a great mountain, over the river Feroso" (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* No. XII. Part II. (1934), p. 104) : this must be Gunong Banang, as "Rio Feroso", "beautiful river", was the Portuguese name for the Batu Pahat River.

The Chinese chart indicates a considerable river to the South of "Shoot arrows Mountain" : if this is meant for the Batu Pahat River, it should have been represented as running on the north side of the mountain : no doubt the error is excusable, but it seems to denote that the Chinese did not proceed up the river to any distance.

The name "Shoot arrows mountain" may be derived from an occasion when the Chinese experienced a certain liveliness on the part of the natives, but more probably it is a transcription of some now-obsolete native name ; Horsburgh designates the western extremity of the range (*i.e.* Bukit Siginting) as Point Sizan. (*The India Directory.* (1843) p. 258).

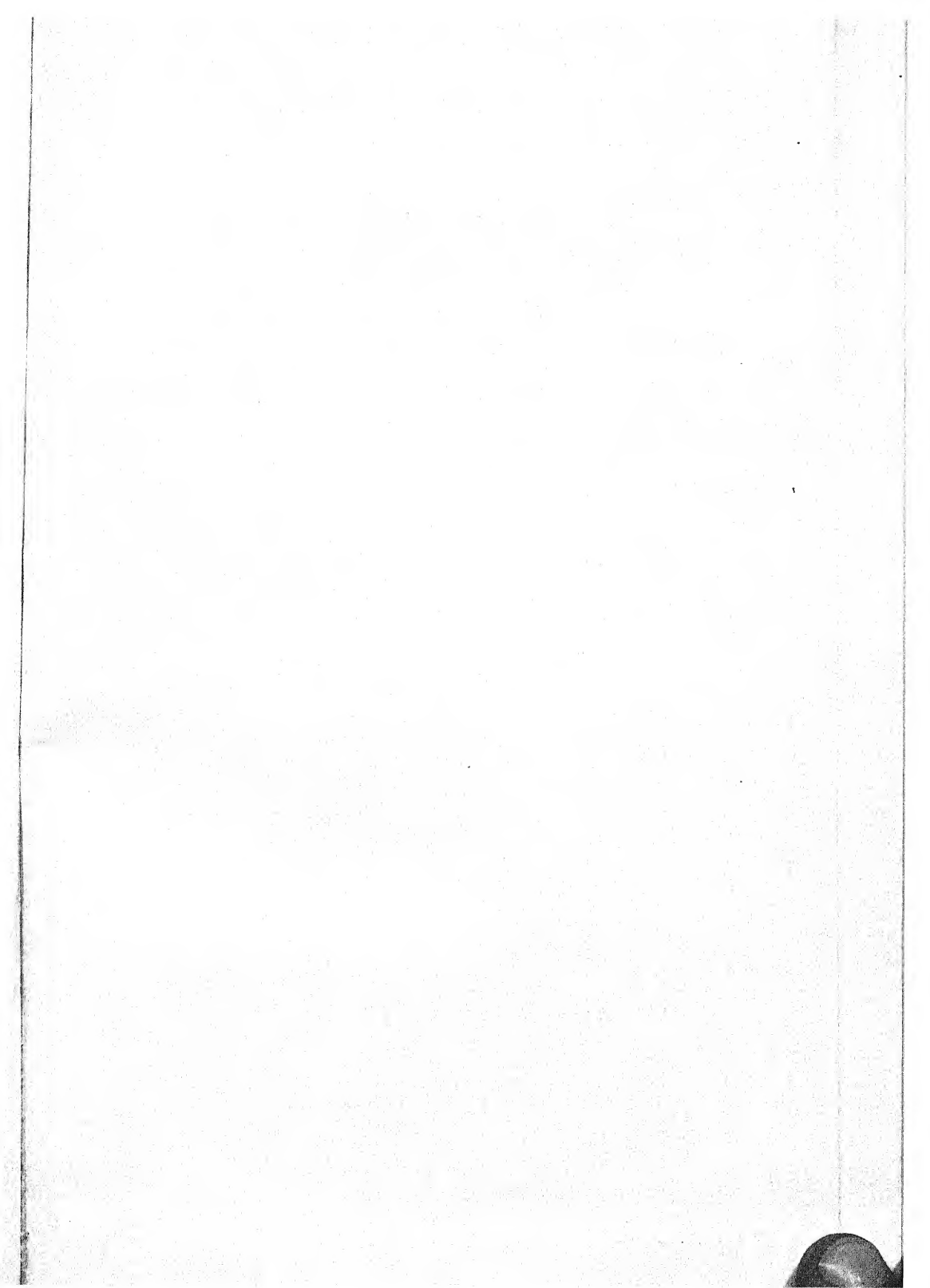
Regarding this identification Mr. Best comments :—"Either Bukit Mor or Gunong Banang, and almost undoubtedly the latter. From the nature of the sailing directions, the operation of bringing shore marks abeam was obviously a main feature of Chinese navigation and for this type of work the mark must be reasonably close. An alteration to port, even a few degrees, on a vessel coming S. E. off Mount Ophir would mean possibly hours of sailing to bring the point abeam again. Doubtless the Chinese were well aware of this. From anything over 5 or 6 miles to seaward the mouth of the Batu Pahat River cannot be recognised and this would account for its being shown out of position".

毘	宋	嶼	
<i>P'i</i>	<i>sung</i>	<i>hsü</i>	
<i>Pi</i>	<i>sang</i>	<i>su</i>	(Amoy Hokkien).

Its name and its position on the Chart indicate that this island must be identified with Pulau Pisang.

The name (皮宗, *P'i sung*) dates from the seventh century (*Journal Asiatique.* Tome XIII. (1919). p. 454 ; Tome XIV. (1919). pp. 46. 60).

平	洲
<i>P'ing</i>	<i>chou.</i>



1 1

Approx. Scale

no

The "level" or "equal" islands must be the two similar-looking rocks called The Brothers, lying to the north-west of Little Kerimun.

吉	利	門	
<i>Chi</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>mên.</i>	
<i>Kiet</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>mng</i>	(Amoy Hokkien, colloquial).

The name and the position of this place show that it represents the Kerimun Islands.

Second Section: Kerimun Islands to Pedra Branca.
(See Plate II).

吉利門	<i>Chi li mên</i>	Kerimun Islands.
沙糖淺	<i>Sha t'ang ch'ien</i>	Rocks to the north-west of Tree Island.
長腰嶼	<i>Ch'ang yao hsü</i>	Coney Islet.
涼傘嶼	<i>Liang san hsü</i>	Pulau Labon
牛屎礁	<i>Niu shih chiao</i>	Buffalo Rock
淡馬錫	<i>T'an ma hsi</i>	Singapore
琵琶嶼	<i>P'i p'a hsü</i>	St. John's Island
琵琶撓嶼	<i>P'a nao hsü</i>	Anak Sambo
馬鞍山	<i>Ma an shan</i>	Tanjong Burong
官嶼	<i>Kuan hsü</i>	Pengerang
荅那溪嶼	<i>Ta na ch'i hsü</i>	Barbukit
白礁	<i>Pai chiao</i>	Pedra Branca

The Chinese sailing directions continue "From 吉利門" [*Chi li mên*, i.e. the Kerimun Islands] "following a course of 乙辰" [*Yi ch'en*, 105°, 120°] "and then of exactly 辰" [*Ch'en*, 120°], "the ship after five watches makes 長腰嶼" [*Ch'ang yao hsü*, "Long Waist Island" i.e. Coney islet] and passes out through 龍牙門" [*Lung ya mên*, "Dragon Tooth Strait" i.e. Singapore Strait]. "In 龍牙門" [*Lung ya mên*, "Dragon Tooth Strait" i.e. Singapore Strait] "following a course of 甲卯" [*Chia mao*, 75°, 90°] "the ship after five watches makes 白礁" [*Pai chiao*, "White Rock", i.e. Pedra Branca]. This section may conveniently be studied by reference to British Admiralty Chart No. 2403.

The Chinese Chart at first sight appears unintelligible : but a close examination will disclose with reasonable certainty the exact course laid down and also the approximate situation, if not always the actual identity, of the places which are marked.

Beyond question the identification of the two termini can be regarded as definitely established,
i.e. at the Western end of the Strait

吉	利	門
<i>Chi</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>mên</i>
<i>Kiet</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>mng</i>

(Amoy Hokkien ; colloquial)

i.e. the Kerimun Islands ;
and at the eastern end

白	礁
<i>Pai</i>	<i>chiao</i>

" White Rock ",
i.e. Pedra Branca, Horsburgh Light.

Certain intermediate points may also be regarded as established beyond reasonable doubt ;
first,

淡	馬	錫
<i>T'an</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hsi</i>
<i>Tam</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>sek</i>

(Amoy Hokkien)

i.e. Tamasek, the old Malay and Javanese name for Singapore ;
second,

琵琶	嶼
<i>P'i</i>	<i>p'a</i>
	<i>hsü</i>

" Guitar Island " (or perhaps " Ray-fish Island "),
which, being placed immediately south of Singapore, must be identified with St. John's Island, or the group of three islands, West St. John's Island, East St. John's Island, and Peak Island ;
third,

馬	鞍	山
<i>Ma</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>shan</i>

" Horse-saddle Mountain " ;
this must be identified with the north-eastern point of Batam Island, called Tanjong Burong in the Admiralty Chart and Tanjong Babi in the Dutch Ministry of Marine Chart No. 40 ; about a mile inland there is a hill—it is easily visible from Singapore—which has two rounded summits with a depression

between; it resembles a saddle in appearance; the Chinese today call it Horse-saddle Hill, and use it as a guide in navigation; the position of Tanjong Burong corresponds with the position of *Ma an shan* in the Chart.

One now considers the course taken by the Chinese pilot through the Strait.

There are good reasons for thinking that this course can be traced with practical certainty.

According to the sailing directions, there are only two main lines of course from the Kerimun Islands, *viz* :—

- (i) 105°, 120°, then 120°, and
- (ii) 75°, 90°.

There is only one sensible route which approximates to these directions; it runs north of Tree Island (Pulau Angup), south of Coney Islet (Raffles Light), and north of Buffalo Rock, to Pedra Branca (Horsburgh Light).

The course must lie south of Coney Islet, because

- (a) a course of 135° from Pulau Pisang leads to a point, marked (X) on the tracing, at which the most northerly extremity of Little Kerimun Island is 7.1 miles away on the starboard beam,
- (b) from this point (X), a course of 105° (the most northerly course within the scope of the directions) leads to Barn Island,
- (c) no pilot in his senses would direct a navigator to pass between Barn Island and Rabbit Islet or between Rabbit Islet and Coney Islet; these islands are only a quarter of a mile apart.

Again, the course must lie very close to Coney Islet, because

- (a) the Chart shows that the navigator is to pass to the north of Pedra Branca, and
- (b) the bearing of Pedra Branca from Raffles Light is 76°, whereas the most northerly course within the scope of the directions is 75°.

It is possible, indeed, to comply with the compass-directions by passing between Tree Island and Red Islet (Pulau Pelampong), but the Chart cannot intend that this course should be taken, because

- (a) it would be necessary to proceed for some miles after reaching Little Kerimun on a course of 135° before changing direction to 105°, and
- (b) it would be unnecessary and meaningless to change direction from 105° to 120°; and

- (c) there would be no danger to starboard such as is indicated by "Granulated-sugar Shoals".

There can be little doubt that the course of 105° changing to 120° was dictated by the necessity for keeping well clear of the dangers constituted by Tree Island and the reef and sandbank lying to the north of it.

The conclusion is that the Chart intends to indicate the present-day course through what is now called Singapore Main Strait, which is nowhere less than three miles broad.

Mr. Best comments:—"On Admiralty Chart 2403 I have laid down the position between the Kerimun Islands and Tanjong Bulus or Piai, and from there a bearing of 112° (corrected by the 5° variation W) is almost exact for Raffles Light, but no slow moving vessel could have hoped to make good that course unless she could take constant bearings on to some object more or less ahead. She might continue to steer it, but the tides which here run any and every way would soon have her miles off the right line.

From bitter experience I know that it is often necessary to steer 20°—30° one side or the other to make good that 112° when travelling as our friend was at less than 2 knots. His two changes of course possibly coincide with his raising first Barn Island and then Coney Islet; the directions of change fit in.

On the whole I consider he made a good job of it. Similarly, after passing Anak Sambo he could not see Pedra Branca, but he set a probable course of 75°, most likely wishing to close the land near Pengerang, and then corrected to 90° on finding he was getting too close inshore or on sighting the "White Rock".

That being the course,

沙	糖	淺
Sha	t'ang	ch'ien

"Granulated-sugar Shoals", which appear to starboard a short distance before the major change of direction is made, must be identified with the reef and sand bank lying to the north, perhaps also the Kent Rocks lying to the east, of Tree Island.

The reef is important in present-day navigation, and a light is shown on the north end.

The island where the major change of direction is made,

長	腰	嶼
Ch'ang	yao	hsü

"Long waist island"

must be Coney Islet; but that islet has no long waist, and the name appears a mystery; presumably the Chinese in some way connected it with Rabbit Islet or Barn Island or both.

Mr. Best solves the mystery as follows:—"Long waist island is probably Barn Island which has a hill at either end and a saddle between. At low water anyone might be excused for imagining its being connected to Rabbit Islet and Coney Islet. From the bridge of a liner, no; but from the deck of a small vessel I have sometimes had the impression that no clear water existed between Raffles Light and Singapore Island itself".

As the vessel passes "Long Waist Island", an island lies to starboard

凉	傘	嶼
<i>Liang</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>hsü</i> ,

"Parasol Island":

a satisfactory identification is forthcoming in the shape of Pulau Labon (Little Ganymede), about 4 miles away, on the south side of the Strait; it has a bare conical hill, 95 feet high; the Chinese today call it Parasol Island, doubtless from the shape of the hill.

After this the vessel passes, to starboard, and somewhat closer to the course,

牛	屎	礁
<i>Niu</i>	<i>shih</i>	<i>chiao</i>

"Buffalo Dung Rock", still called by the Chinese Buffalo Dung Rock, and by the Malays called Batu Kerbau (Buffalo Rock) or Batu Hitam (Black Rock); it is 30 feet long and 5 feet high.

The vessel next comes abreast of

琶	撓	嶼
<i>P'a</i>	<i>nao</i>	<i>hsü</i>

"Twisted Lute Island" to starboard, and

琵琶	琶	嶼
<i>P'i</i>	<i>p'a</i>	<i>hsü</i>

"Guitar Island",

to port; with 淡馬錫, *Tam ma sek*, marked on the mainland behind the latter.

Unquestionably *Tam ma sek* is Singapore, and no doubt "Guitar Island" is St. John's Island, or the group of islands comprising West St. John's Island, East St. John's Island, and Peak Island.

In that case, "Twisted Lute Island" must be identified with the danger on the opposite side of the Strait, that is, either Batu Berhanti (called by the Malays Alang Berantai, two rocky ledges, about a quarter of a mile apart, the centres of which are above water), or (if it is thought from the designation "island" that the Chinese deliberately or inadvertently ignored these ledges), then Anak Sambo, or the group of islands which has Anak Sambo at its north-eastern extremity.

Mr. Best writes:—"Undoubtedly Anak Sambo which is conspicuous from either side. Batu Beranti only showed at low water if at all and the patch further east is only a low spit of sand and stones barely visible at high water."

It must be pointed out that there is one danger which, if the above identifications are correct, the Chinese pilot has consciously or unconsciously omitted to mention; that is Helen Mar Reef, situated about 3 miles south-east of Coney Island and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Pulau Labon: it consists of two patches a cable apart, the outer drying 2 feet, and the inner 7 feet. It is on the course in the sense that it lies north-west of a line drawn from Pulau Labon to Buffalo Rock: on the other hand, its omission is readily understandable, for the navigator has been told that his next course is 75° , and it will be obvious to him that he must keep close to Coney Islet in order to clear Pulau Sambo—high land which will be visible to him—on that course; so he ought not to take his vessel nearly as far south as Helen Mar Reef.

Mr. Best notes:—"The omission of Helen Mar Reef is understandable. It is covered at high water and at ordinary low tide would not be visible more than three or four miles. I have been through this strait close on a dozen times in a small vessel and have never seen it."

The vessel next comes abreast of

馬	鞍	山
Ma	an	shan

"Horse-saddle Mountain",

Tanjong Burong, the north-eastern promontory of Pulau Batam, to starboard, and then, to port, abreast of

官	嶼
Kuan	hsü

"Official Island",
and

荖	那	溪	嶼
Ta	na	ch'i	hsü

"Ta-na River Island",

These last two places are not easy to identify, though it is clear from their position along the route between Tanjong Burong and Pedra Branca that they must be situated on or close to the south-eastern end of Johore.

Very probably Gerini is right in stating that "*Ta-na*" is a part of the name "*Ujong Tanah*", "*Land's End*", an old designation for Johore (*op. cit.* p. 199): the Europeans abbreviated the expression into "*Jantana*" and "*Jatana*", even "*Satana*".

"*Ta-na River Island*" would thus mean "*Johore River Island*" or "*Johore River Hill*".

There are two conspicuous hills along the south coast of the south-eastern promontory of Johore, namely Pengerang (609 feet) and Barbukit (628 feet): the former has been described as one of the most conspicuous objects in Singapore Strait; the other is a useful object in making the strait from the northward: both form convenient landmarks for navigating the strait, and for recognizing the entrance from the northward.

It seems probable, then, that "*Official Island*" ought to be identified with Pengerang, and "*Ta-na River Island*" with Barbukit (now also called Pelali).

One may note that Floris (1613) makes several references to "*Barra Bouquit*" (Moreland. *Peter Floris*. (1934), pp. 77, 81, 102).

If the identification of "*Official Island*" with Pengerang is correct, the designation presumably dates from a time when the hill was surrounded by water.

The name suggests either that a Chief once resided there, or that a Port Officer had his office there.

Winstedt remarks that the Johore River has been navigated for more than two thousand years (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. XIII, Part I, (1935), p. 82).

As to the identification of "*Lung ya mên*", "*Dragon-tooth Strait*", the writer assumes the correctness of Rockhill's view that the strait here referred to is Singapore Strait: elsewhere "*Lung ya mên*" appears to mean Lingga Strait; see the discussion in *T'oung Pao*. Vol. XVI, (1915), p. 129: the identification of Chinese place-names is often a matter of great difficulty and the difficulty is enhanced when the same name is applied to two or more places not far removed from each other; the present Chart marks "*Lung ya mên*" in the approximate situation of Lingga Island; there are at least 3 islands in the Malayan region called "*Long-waist Island*"; and Ferrand has shown that in Chinese and Annamite texts "*K'ouenlouen*" (which often designates Pulau Condore) refers to no less than 6 other places (*Journal Asiatique*. Tome xiii, (1919), p. 332).

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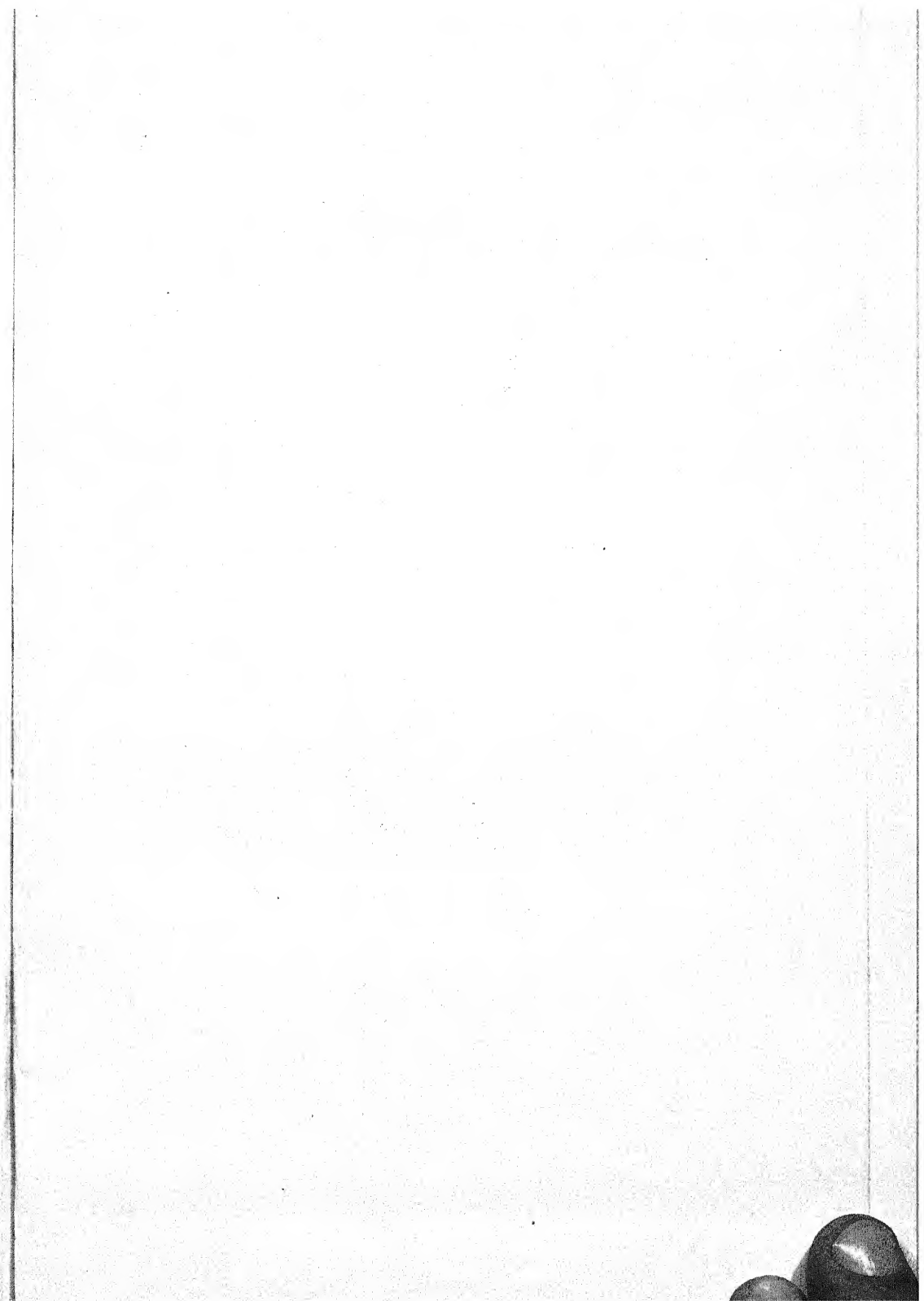
One thinks that it is demonstrated with reasonable certainty that this Chart lays down a course through Singapore Main Strait, the "Strait of Gouvernador" of the Portuguese: and, as the Chart refers to about 1433, this strait is "older" than the "old strait" of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English.

Barnes' suggestion that the "*Lung ya mên*" of the Chart is Keppel Harbour (*J.R.A.S.S.B.* No. 60, (1911), p. 25) is untenable because it is inconsistent with the Chinese sailing-directions.

Third Section : Pedra Branca to Singora.

(See Plate III).

白礁	<i>Pai chiao</i>	Pedra Branca
將軍帽	<i>Chiang chün mao</i>	Pulau Tinggi
西竹山	<i>Hsi chu shan</i>	} Pulau Aur
東竹山	<i>Tung chu shan</i>	
苧麻山	<i>Ch'u ma shan</i>	Pulau Tioman
石礁	<i>Shih chiao</i>	Pulau Siribuat
彭杭港	<i>P'eng k'eng chiang</i>	Pahang River
斗嶼	<i>Tou hsü</i>	Pulau Tenggol
丁加下路	<i>Ting chia hsia lu</i>	Trengganu
土員嶼	<i>T'u yüan hsü</i>	Pulau Bidong Laut
石山	<i>Shih shan</i>	Pulau Lang Tengah
昆下池	<i>K'un hsia ch'ih</i>	Turtle Back Island
角員	<i>Chio yüan</i>	Pulau Redang
羊嶼	<i>Yang hsü</i>	Perhentian Island (east)
三角嶼	<i>San chio hsü</i>	Perhentian Island (west)
烟墩嶼	<i>Yen tun hsü</i>	Pulau Susu Darah
古蘭丹港	<i>Ku lan tan chiang</i>	Kelantan River
出降香	<i>Ch'u chiang hsiang</i>	"Produces laka-wood"
西港	<i>Hsi chiang</i>	Telubin River
出降真	<i>Ch'u chiang chên</i>	"Produces laka-wood"
狼西加	<i>Lang hsi chia</i>	Patani
貓鼠嶼	<i>Mao shu hsü</i>	Koh Mu and Koh Gnu
孫姑那	<i>Sun ku-na</i>	Singora



10 P. AUR

3 PTIOMAN

The Chinese sailing-directions continue :—" After passing 白礁" [*Pai chiao*, " White Rock ", i.e. Pedra Branca], " following a course of 癸丑" [*Kuei ch'ou*, 15°, 30°] " and then of exactly 癸" [*Kuei*, i.e. 15°], " the ship after five watches is level with 東竹山" [*Tung chu shan*, " East Bamboo mountain ", on Pulau Aur], " and passes outside it. After passing 東竹山" [*Tung chu shah*, " East Bamboo mountain "] " following a course of 子" [*Tzu*, 0°], " 丑" [*Ch'ou*, 30°], " and then of exactly 癸" [*Kuei*, i.e. 15°] " the ship makes 崑崙山" [*K'un lun shan*, i.e. Pulau Condor] " and passes outside it."

將 軍 帽
Chiang chün mao.

" General's Hat " is one of the purely-Chinese names marked on the Chart : it is well-recognized as the designation of Pulau Tinggi, and the nick-name has persisted for 500 years till the present day, though a transcription " Tingki " also occurs (e.g. Wang Ta-yuan's " *Tao yi tche lio* " (1349) has 鼎峙 : *Journal Asiatique*. Tome XIII, (1919), p. 258).

In shape, the island rises to an almost symmetrical cone : the Malays have a *pantun* beginning " Pulau Tinggi, terendak China ", " Pulau Tinggi, Chinese cone-hat ".

西 竹 山 東 竹 山
Hsi chu shan Tung chu shan.

No doubt Phillips is right in identifying " West Bamboo mountain " and " East Bamboo mountain " as the two peaks of Pulau Aur : Pelliot says the " East and West Bamboo " of Fei Hsin (1436) are to be identified with Pulau Aur (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX, (1933), p. 325.)

The Malay word " Aur " is a generic name given to many large bamboos, and doubtless the Chinese designation is derived from this name.

When seen at a distance from the north-east or south-west, Pulau Aur has the appearance of two separated islands. (*China Sea Pilot*. Vol. III, (1923), p. 51-2).

Pulau Aur is now generally adopted as a point of departure by vessels bound for China, and steered for on the return passage : in clear weather the southernmost peak, 1805 feet high, may be

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seen from a distance of 40 to 50 miles. In the vernacular, the two words "Pulau Aur" are rolled together, and some of the early voyagers reproduce the confusion; for instance, Bontekoe gives the name as "Laur" (Hodgkinson and Geyl. *Willem Ysbrantsz Bontekoe*. (1929), p. 82): and some of the map-makers make confusion worse confounded by writing "Pulau Laor": e.g. the map of D'Anville, 1752.

(Ferrand identifies the [京] 西 竺, [*Tung*] *hsi chu* of Wang Ta-yuan's *Tao yi tche lio* (1349) with the Anamba Islands (*Journal Asiatique*. Tome XIII, (1919), p. 258): while not questioning the correctness of that identification, the present writer thinks that the "West Bamboo mountain" and "East Bamboo mountain" of the Chart cannot be the Anamba Islands for the following reasons:—

(i) the Chart shows these islands as on the route between Pulau Tinggi and Pulau Tioman; whereas the Anamba Islands are some 88 miles almost due east of Pulau Tioman:

(ii) the sailing directions give the course from Pedra Branca to "East Bamboo mountain" as 15°, 30°, and then 15°;

such a course would take the navigator to a point about 15 miles east of Pulau Aur; while, in order to pass "outside" (i.e. to the east of) the Anamba Islands, the course from Pedra Branca would be 42°.

The Chinese name for the island was "islands of India" (天竺山, *T'ien chu shan*, in the History of the Sung Dynasty) in 1009, and "Higher and Lower Bamboos" (上下竺, "*Sang-ma-chu*", in the *Ling wai tai ta* of Chou K'u-fei) in 1178 (Hirth and Rockhill. *Chau Ju-Kua*. (1911), p. 22-3); in Fei Hsin (1436) the island is called "East and West Bamboos", (東西竺, *Tung hsi chu* (*T'oung Po*. Vol XVI. (1915), p. 124).

In the History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643) the island of *Tung hsi chu shan* (東西竺山), visited by Chêng Ho, is "supposed to be the same country" as Johore: Groeneveldt identifies it with Singapore Island (*loc. cit.* pp. 254, 258).

芋	麻	山	
<i>Ch'u</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>shan</i>	
<i>Tu</i>	<i>ma(n)</i>	<i>san</i>	(Amoy Hokkien: Chang-chew).

The first character cannot be traced in Douglas' Dictionary.

In any case, there can be little doubt that the Chinese name, "Tu ma(n) mountain", reproduces a local name, probably the

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Malay name Pulau Tioman: though there is a Cham word "thio'm" meaning "Siam" or "Siamese".

The island is composed of lofty mountains, the highest of which attains an elevation of 3444 feet, and may be discerned from 50 to 60 miles in clear weather.

石 礁
Shih chiao

"Stone rock" is most probably to be identified with Pulau Siribuat (748 feet), since it is placed directly between Pulau Tioman and the mainland: in that case the unnamed island shown north of Pulau Tioman will be Pulau Berhala (80 feet).

The word "*shih*" may reproduce the sound of the Malay word "*siri*" which in the modern Hokkien name for Sri Gading is transcribed simply as 世, "*se*" (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. II. Part III, (1924), p. 226).

彭 杭 港
P'êng hang chiang
Phe hang kang (Amoy Hokkien).

This is the Pahang River.

The sounds *Phe hang* have been obtained from persons whose mother-tongue is Amoy Hokkien: the words cannot be found in the dictionaries of Douglas and Barclay.

Nowadays even Hokkiens often pronounce the name "P'ang hang", following the Cantonese pronunciation.

Apparently the name first occurs in Chau Ju-kua (1225), where Pahang is stated to be a dependency of Palembang (Hirth and Rockhill. *Chau Ju-kua*. (1912), p. 62).

(The name may be connected with *Pahang*, the Khmer word for "tin").

Opinions differ regarding the name, Groeneveldt writes regarding the characters 彭 坑, "these two characters are properly pronounced *p'ang k'ang*, but the first, which has the sound *p'e(n)* or *p'a(n)* in Fukien, is often used for rendering the sound *pa* or *p'a* whilst the second character is taken for *hang* on account of its primitive, which often has this sound in other combinations" (*loc. cit.* p. 255).

Ferrand takes the view that the character called "*p'eng*" is intentionally employed from its assonance with "*k'ang*" (*Journal Asiatique*. Tome xiii, (1919), p. 284).

On the other hand it has been thought that, since "p'ang k'ang" gives a very defective transcription of *Pahang*, the Chinese name may quite probably be derived from "Panggang" (a corruption of "Pangan"), the name of an aboriginal tribe inhabiting Kelantan and Pahang (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. VII, (1896), p. 114).

This seems to imply that the sounds of the various characters used to represent the second syllable at one time began with *g* or *k*: i.e. 豐 (*fēng*, in Amoy *hong*), 杭 (*hang*, in Amoy *hang*), 坑 (*k'ēng*, in Amoy *hang*), and 亨 (*hēng*, in Amoy *heng*).

That may have been the case, for Kawabara thinks it probable that the sounds of several words such as 海 (*hai*, the sea) and 虎 (*hu*, a tiger) once began with *g* or *k* (*On P'u Shou-k'eng*. (1928), p. 24).

Ferrand finds a reference to the "Panggang" in the "people called al-Fangan" (الْفَنْجَن) of Idrisi, 1154 A.D. (*Journal Asiatique*. Tome xiii. (1919), p. 432).

斗嶼

Tou hsü

"Peck Island" was so-called presumably because it was thought to resemble an inverted bushel-measure.

Between the Pahang and Trengganu Rivers the only islands are Pulau Capas and the group of which Pulau Tenggol is the largest: one identifies "Peck Island" with Pulau Tenggol because Pulau Capas is only 478 feet high whereas Pulau Tenggol, 930 feet high, may be seen about 30 miles off in clear weather, and it transpires from another itinerary that "T'ou seu" was a navigation-mark on the sea-route from Pulau Condor to Malaya: cf. the *Hai-kuo-t'u-chih*, quoting the *Tung-se-yang-k'ao*, where it is stated that a vessel, after leaving Pulau Condor and shaping a South-westerly course with a little South in it for thirty watches, reaches T'ou-seu, and after five watches on an almost due southerly course sights the kingdom of Pahang, and after a further five watches on a due southerly course reaches Tioman. (*Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. XXI, (1886), p. 32).

丁	加	下	路
<i>Ting</i>	<i>chia</i>	<i>hsia</i>	<i>lu</i>
<i>Teng</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>lo</i> (Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Ting</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>lou</i> (Cantonese)

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Clearly this is intended to be a transcription of the Malay name Trengganu.

It appears as 登牙儂, *Têng-ya-nung*, in Chau Ju-kua (1225).

(One wonders why the Chinese added the final consonants until one learns that "Tëganung" is a good phonetic rendering of the local pronunciation. (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. XIII. Part III, (1935), p. 7).

The identification of the seven island-groups off the coasts of Trengganu, Kelantan and Patani is a matter of considerable difficulty. Local enquiries have failed to elicit any clue to the problem, and with the exception of Batu Rakil (a rock 35 feet high), there are no islands north of the Kelantan River, whereas the Chinese Chart marks at least four: one concludes the Chinese cartographer incorrectly places at least three of these four islands too far to the north.

Under the circumstances, one can only suggest a rough approximation based on the relative position of the islands, since no useful information can be gleaned from the Chinese names or from the characteristics of the islands themselves.

The seven named islands lie in two rows, parallel with the coast; three being nearer to the coast, and four farther away.

Obviously some of the islands belong to the Redang-Perhentian groups, but it is difficult to identify them individually. Other things being equal, one presumes that the Chinese pilot will have given names to the most prominent, that is, the highest ones.

The seven highest islands in these groups range from 1134 to 520 feet: the next highest island is only 260 feet. It seems unlikely that the Chinese pilot should refrain from designating Pulau Bidong Laut ("Little Redang", 985 feet), Pulau Redang ("Great Redang", 1139 feet), and Pulau Susu Darah ("High Rock", 735 feet).

If a tracing of the Chinese Chart be superimposed on a 12-miles-to-the-inch map of Malaya, it will be found that the most northerly and the two most southerly of the seven named islands will just touch those three islands: it therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the four other islands named in the Chart are intended to represent the four other highest islands in the groups, that is Pulau Perhentian Kechil (the more westerly of the Perhentian (Printian) Islands, 1125 feet), Pulau Perhentian Besar (the more easterly of the Perhentian (Printian) Islands, 1134 feet), Pulau Ru ("Turtleback Island", 720 feet) and Pulau Lang Tengah ("Lantinga", 520 feet), though they are out of position by 3 miles, 7 miles, 5 miles and 1 mile, respectively.

土	員	嶼	
<i>T'u</i>	<i>yüan</i>	<i>hsü</i>	
<i>Tho</i>	<i>oan</i>	<i>su</i>	(Amoy Hokkien).*

"*T'u yüan*" island is the most southerly of the three islands nearer to the coast.

From its position one suggests this should be identified with Pulau Bidong Laut ("Little Redang"), 985 feet high. The transcription may represent some such Malay name as *Tawan*.

石	山
<i>Shih</i>	<i>shan</i>

"Stone mountain" is the second of the three named islands lying nearer to the coast.

From its position, one suggests that this may be Pulau Lang Tengah ("Lantinga"), 520 feet high.

昆	下	池	
<i>K'un</i>	<i>hsia</i>	<i>ch'ih</i>	
<i>K'un</i>	{ <i>ha</i>	<i>ti</i>	(Amoy Hokkien)
	{ <i>e</i>		
<i>Kwan</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ch'i</i>	(Cantonese)

"*K'un hsia ch'ih*" is the most northerly of the three named islands lying nearer to the coast.

The name has no meaning in Chinese: presumably the Amoy Hokkien form represents some such Malay name as *Kunyi*. From its position, one suggests it is probably Pulau Ru ("Turtle Back Island"), 720 feet high.

角	員
<i>Chio</i>	<i>yuan</i>
<i>Kak</i>	<i>oan</i>

(Amoy Hokkien)

"Corner round island" is the most southerly of the four named islands lying farther from the coast.

From its position one suggests it probably represents Pulau Redang ("Great Redang"), 1139 feet high.

The transcription may represent some such Malay name as *Kawan*.

羊	嶼
<i>Yang</i>	<i>hsü</i>

"Goat island" is the second of the four named islands lying farther from the coast.

From its position, one suggests that the Chinese pilot indicates Pulau Perhentian Besar (the more easterly of the Perhentian (Printian) Islands : it is 1134 feet high.

The Chinese name may represent the Malay name *Jong* or *Yong*.

三	角	嶼	
<i>San</i>	<i>chio</i>	<i>hsü</i>	
<i>Sa(n)</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>su</i>	(Amoy Hokkien).

"Three corner island" is the third of the four named islands lying farther from the coast.

From its position, one suggests that this refers to Pulau Perhentian Kechil (the more westerly of the Perhentian (Printian) Islands) : it is 1125 feet high.

烟	墩	嶼
<i>Yen</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>hsü</i>

"Beacon Island" is the most northerly of the four named islands lying farther from the coast.

From its position one suggests that it represents Pulau Susu Darah ("High Rock"), 735 feet high.

古	蘭	丹	港	
<i>Ku</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>chiang</i>	
<i>Ko</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>kang</i>	(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Ku</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>kong</i>	(Cantonese)

Obviously this represents the Kelantan River.

The name appears as 吉蘭丹, *Chi lan tan*, in Chau Ju-kua (1225).

出	降	香
<i>Ch'u</i>	<i>chiang</i>	<i>hsiang</i>

This legend appears between the Kelantan and Telubin Rivers : " [the country] produces *chiang* perfume ".

Chinese druggists in Singapore say that "*chiang* perfume" (*chiang hsiang*) and *chiang chên* (*vide infra*) are one and the same thing, and that the usual name is "*chiang chên* perfume ".

Groeneveldt says *chiang chên hsiang* "is the name of a fragrant wood, much used as incense, but which we have not been able to determine" : he doubts Williams' identification with laka-wood (Groeneveldt. (*loc. cit.* p. 261).

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The Chinese Vocabulary of Malacca Malay words (1403-1511 ?) says that *chiang chêng hsiang* is in Malay called 加右刺加, *chia yu la chia*, i.e. *kayu laka* :

Ridley states that this refers to a shrubby climber, *Dalbergia parviflora* Roxb., found in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, the wood of which is valued as incense. (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*. Vol. VI. Part 3, (1931), pp. 725, 727).

Chau Ju-kua (1225) has a section on “降真香, Laka-wood.” Hirth and Rockhill translate “*Kiang-chôn-hiang* comes from San-fo-ts’i, Shō-p’o and P’ōng-fōng; it is also found in all the districts of Kuang-tung and Kuang-si”, and they note that the *Tung-si-yang-k’au* uses the name *kiang-hiang* and says that it was a product of Patani (大泥) and Palembang. (Hirth and Rockhill. *op. cit.* p. 211). Pelliot, too, says this is laka-wood. (*T’oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. (1933). p. 381).

西 港

Hsi chiang

Sai kang (Amoy Hokkien)

Sai kong (Cantonese)

No doubt the “Sai River” represents what is now called the Telubin River. It bears the same name in the “Nagara kretagama”, 1365 (Ferrand. *Relations de Voyages*. (1914). p. 663).

The earliest European map to mark the river is that of Homem (1558), who calls it “Seia”: similar names, “Seia”, “Soia”, “Sea”, “Sey”, “Seu”, “Coy”, “Say”, etc. appear on all the maps on which the river is named, down to at least 1850: the name “Telubin” does not appear till after that date.

出 降 真

Ch’u chiang chen

Between the Telubin and Patani Rivers, the Chart bears the legend “produces *chiang chên*”: the *Tz’u yuan*, Supplement, 50, states that this is the “Name of a perfume (香) now called 降香” (*chiang hsiang*): in other words, this is the same perfume as that produced between the Kelantan and Telubin Rivers (*vide supra*).

狼 西 加

Lang hsi chia

Long sai ka (Amoy Hokkien)

Long sai ka (Cantonese).

One thinks that beyond reasonable doubt this designation must represent the Malay name *Langkasuka*: while the position of the place, between the Telubin River and Singora, indicates Patani as the locus. One concludes that the chart definitely fixes Patani as the approximate situation of Langkasuka, the fairy-land of Malay romance, and the most famous kingdom in Malaya.

Rejecting the suggestion of Rouffaer (cf. *J.R.A.S.S.B.* No. 86. (1922), p.257) that Langkasuka was situated in Johore, modern scholars place this state in northern Malaya, and identify it with the "Lang-ya-sieu" which, according to the History of the Liang Dynasty, was founded about 100 A.D. (*J.R.A.S.M.B.* Vol. XIII. Part I, (1935), p. 21: cf. Gerini, *op. cit.* p. 115: Groeneveldt. *loc. cit.* p. 135-6).

There can be little doubt that "Long-sai-ka" represents the same name as "Lung-saka" (لنج ساكا, l-n-g sh-k-a), placed in the "Mohit" at 1 *isba* (=1° 42' 50") north of "Kalandan" (Kelantan), i.e. almost exactly half way between Singora and Lakon (Ligor).

(Ferrand. *Relations de Voyages.* (1914). pp. 530, 532).

The name does not appear to have been known by the early Portuguese writers.

貓	鼠	嶼
Mao	shu	hsü

Clearly "Cat Rat Island" must be identified with Cat Island (Pulau Kuching, Koh Mu) and Rat Island (Pulau Tikus, Koh Gnu), lying about 1½ miles off Singora: the two islands are 1½ miles apart.

孫	姑	那	
Sun	ku	na	
Sng	ku	na	(Amoy Hokkien: colloquial)

Its name, its position, and its proximity to "Cat Rat Island" make it certain that this place represents Singora.

Between Singora and the Bangkok River the Chart contains little of interest: no countries, towns, or rivers are named.

In the southern area there are half a dozen islands, viz.

玳	瑁	嶼	
Tai	mei	hsü	
Tai	mo	su	(Amoy Hokkien)
Toi	mui	söü	(Cantonese)

"Tortoise-shell Island";

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海	門	山	
<i>Hai</i>	<i>mên</i>	<i>shan</i>	
<i>Hai</i>	<i>bun</i>	<i>san</i>	(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Hoi</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>shan</i>	(Cantonese)

" Sea-gate Mountain " ;

石	班	洲	
<i>Shih</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>chou</i>	
<i>Sek</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>chiu</i>	(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Shek</i>	<i>pan</i>	<i>chau</i>	(Cantonese)

" Garoupa Island " ;

佛	山		
<i>Fo</i>	<i>shan</i>		
<i>Hut</i>	<i>san</i>		(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Fét</i>	<i>shan</i>		(Cantonese)

" Buddha Mountain " ;

馬	鞍	山	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>shan</i>	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>san</i>	(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Ma</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>shan</i>	(Cantonese)

" Horse-saddle Mountain " ;

赤	坎		
<i>Ch'ih</i>	<i>k'an</i>		
<i>Chhek</i>	<i>kham</i>		(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Ch'ik</i>	<i>hom</i>		(Cantonese)

" Red Vase ".

One takes these six islands to be Koh Samuie, Koh Pennan, Koh Tau and three smaller islands in the same group. Between the most southerly island and the mainland, there appears the name

衆	不	淺	
<i>Chung</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>ch'ien</i>	
<i>Cheng</i>	<i>put</i>	<i>chhien</i>	(Amoy Hokkien ; colloquial)
<i>Chung</i>	<i>pét</i>	<i>ts'yn</i>	(Cantonese).

One suggests that " *Cheng put Shoals* " represent the shoal-water off Bandon Bight.

In the northern area are two mountains and an island, close together.

The mountain further inland is marked

筆	架	山	
<i>Pi</i>	<i>chia</i>	<i>shan</i>	
<i>Pit</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>san</i>	(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Pêt</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>shan</i>	(Cantonese).

"Pencil-stand Mountain": Phillips identifies this with Triple Peak.

The mountain closer to the sea is designated

犁	頭	山	
<i>Li</i>	<i>t'ou</i>	<i>shan</i>	
<i>Loe</i>	<i>thau</i>	<i>san</i>	(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Lai</i>	<i>t'au</i>	<i>shan</i>	(Cantonese).

"Plough-share Mountain".

This may be Chulai Peak.

The island is called

犀	角	山	
<i>Hsi</i>	<i>chio</i>	<i>shan</i>	
<i>Sai</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>san</i>	(Amoy Hokkien)
<i>Sai</i>	<i>kok</i>	<i>shan</i>	(Cantonese),

"Rhinoceros-horn Mountain".

This may be Chulai Point.

A little south of "Rhinoceros-horn Mountain" appears the legend

出	蘇	木	
<i>Ch'u</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>mu</i>	

"Produces sapan-wood".

The writer gives these names in case it should be thought that the Chart fixes the position of other places for which students have been searching, for instance the 加羅希 (*Chia lo hsi*; *ka lo hi*, Amoy Hokkien; *Ka lo hi*, Cantonese) of Chau Ju-kua (1225).

At any rate one might have expected to find Ligor designated, for it is thought to have been the centre of Siamese influence in the Malay Peninsula, and the fact that the Chinese apparently did not visit it may well deserve the attention of the historian.

III. THE VALUE OF THE CHART.

The value of the Chart lies, first, in the representations which are made in it, and, secondly, in the inferences which may justifiably be drawn from those representations.

First, as to the representations.

- (1) It "is a real mariners' chart, primitive, perhaps, but having a real value" (Duyvendak); it gives the skilful navigator fairly satisfactory information for steering his course without grounding his ship, including reasonably accurate directions for navigating the rather difficult Singapore Main Strait; one has only to look at the maps of Idrisi (1192), Fra Mauro (1457) or the Chinese maps of 1564 (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XVI, (1915), facing p. 82) to see that, if properly understood, the present Chart is immeasurably superior.
- (2) It represents that at the date when it was completed, certain places bearing specified names were situated approximately in the relative positions shown in the Chart: that may sound banal to people accustomed in modern times to a plentiful supply of maps, charts, and plans: we take them for granted, like modern roads: where no roads exist, the construction of a road is an epoch-making event. It certainly gives immense gratification to persons who have been chasing will-of-the-wisp place names like "*Mo-lo-yu*" "*Fo-lo-an*", "*Langkasuka*" and "*Tamasek*", to see the two latter written down in black and white. But their appearance in the Chart does not preclude the possibility that the same names were at other periods applied to places in different situations: there is reason to believe that a number of names have been subject to "erratic" tendencies, and the name "*Langkasuka*" appears to have crossed over from the west coast of the Peninsula to the east, for Gerini places it in Kedah (*op. cit.* p. 825).

The Chart discloses other obsolete names too, the "*Sai*" River ("*Seah*," now Telubin), and "*Cotton Island*" (Parcelar Hill), apparently a translation of the Malay *Kapas*, "*cotton*" (*cf.* Arab *Kafasi*, and Portuguese *Capasia*) In most cases the Chart provides the earliest record of the names contained in it: ten names, however, are or may be earlier: *viz* :—

Lang hsi chia; this may be the "*Lang-ya-sieu*" mentioned in the History of the Liang Dynasty (502-556):

Chia ta ; this may be the "*Kie-tch'a*" of "*I-tsing*" (693):

Ch'u ma ; this may be the "*Tiyuma*" of Ibn Khor-dadzbeh (844-8):

P'eng k'eng, *Ting chia hsia lu* and *Ku lan tan* are, respectively, "*P'ōng fōng*", "*Tōng ya nung*" and "*Ki lan tan*" of Chau Ju-Kua (1225):

"*Lung ya mên*" is mentioned by Wang Ta-yüan (1349): "*Chi ling*", "*T'an ma hsi*", and "*Sai*", are, respectively, the "*Kelan*", "*Tumasik*", and "*Seah*" of the "*Nagarakretagama*" (1365).

It is disappointing that the Chart does not disclose the situation of certain other places for which students are searching: even if we could not reasonably expect to find the "Mo lo yu" (末羅瑜) of "I-tsing" (693), or the "Tche" (質, the Strait of Singapore and Malacca), or "Lo yue" (羅越, the southern portion of the Peninsula) of "Kia Tan" (785-805), we might have hoped to find the "Tan ma ling" (單馬令) or "Fo lo an" (佛羅安) of Chau Ju-kua (1225), or the "Wu chih pa" (無枝拔) of "Wang Ta-yüan" (1349).

- (3) The Chart represents that at this period the Chinese, on the through journey to Ceylon, used the course from Parcelar Hill to the Aroa Islands, then along the western side of Malacca Strait to Samudra on the north coast of Sumatra, and thence to Ceylon.

The Arabs on the other hand, according to the "Mohit" (1554), preferred the course from Parcelar Hill to the Aroa Islands, thence northward to the Sembilan Islands, thence along the eastern side of Malacca Strait to the Butang Islands, thence *viâ* the Nicobar Islands to Ceylon. (Ferrand *Relations de Voyages*. (1914), p. 492).

One may note that at the beginning of the seventh century, the route from India to China, was, according to Chinese texts, *viâ* Malacca Strait, Palembang, and the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, but, according to Arab accounts, *via* Malacca Strait and Singapore Strait (*Journal Asiatique*. Tome XIV. (1919), p. 60): one therefore suspects that there may have been a rather important entrepot at some place not far from the spot (the Kerimun Islands) where the two courses diverged.

- (4) The Chart represents that the Chinese at this period used the course through the present Singapore Main Strait: this course was not discovered by the Portuguese (who called it "Governor's Strait") until 1615, when they had been in Malayan waters for over 100 years.*

*[Mr. Best comments:—

"The pilots employed by the Portuguese must have known of the wider passage to the south and it seems incredible that the Portuguese did not learn of its existence for 100 years.

That, knowing of it, they did not choose to use it is understandable. The tidal swirls, almost amounting to whirlpools, are worrying to a fully powered steamer and the depths sufficiently great, taking into account the strength of the tides, to make anchoring almost an impossibility for a small vessel. It is used today by all types of craft, but the men in charge of them are either skilled navigators or else have had long experience of Singapore waters. To newcomers, in clumsy ships equipped with primitive winches, cables and anchors it might well seem a place to be avoided, if an alternative and better known route was available".]

(5) The watches and courses specified in the sailing-directions may conveniently be set out in a Tabular Statement as follows :—

Voyage.	Watches.	Course.	Approximate Mileage.
1. Samudra to Diamond Point..	5	$\begin{Bmatrix} 30^\circ \\ 120^\circ \\ 105^\circ \\ 120^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	32
2. Diamond Point to (?) Perlak River	5	$\begin{Bmatrix} 120^\circ \\ 135^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	32
3. (?) Perlak River to Deli Estuary	15	$\begin{Bmatrix} 120^\circ \\ 135^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	94
4. Deli Estuary to Pulau Berhala	5	$\begin{Bmatrix} 105^\circ \\ 120^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	46
5. Pulau Berhala to The Brothers	4	$\begin{Bmatrix} 120^\circ \\ 135^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	27
6. The Brothers to the Aroa Islands	15	$\begin{Bmatrix} 135^\circ \\ 120^\circ \\ 135^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	66
7. The Aroa Islands to the South Sands	3	$\begin{Bmatrix} 120^\circ \\ 120^\circ \\ 105^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	28
8. The South Sands to Parcelar Hill	3	$\begin{Bmatrix} 105^\circ \\ 120^\circ \\ 120^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	31
9. Parcelar Hill to Malacca ..	11	$\begin{Bmatrix} 120^\circ \\ 135^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	73
10. Malacca to Gunong Banang ..	5	$\begin{Bmatrix} 120^\circ \\ 135^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	54
11. Gunong Banang to Pulau Pisang	3	$\begin{Bmatrix} 120^\circ \\ 135^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	32
12. Pulau Pisang to the Kerimun Islands	—	135°	20
13. The Kerimun Islands to Coney Islet	5	$\begin{Bmatrix} 105^\circ \\ 120^\circ \\ 120^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	22
14. Coney Islet to Pedra Branca..	5	$\begin{Bmatrix} 75^\circ \\ 90^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	49
15. Pedra Branca to Pulau Aur ..	5	$\begin{Bmatrix} 15^\circ \\ 30^\circ \\ 15^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	75
16. Pulau Aur to Pulau Condor ..	—	$\begin{Bmatrix} 0^\circ \\ 30^\circ \\ 15^\circ \end{Bmatrix}$	456

At certain points there is a hiatus between two courses: this may amount to as much as 9 miles (off Parcelar Hill) : no doubt the navigator was intended to keep an eye on the coast-line and other navigation-marks.

The number of watches spent on the voyage from Pulau Pisang to the Kerimun Islands is not given: we cannot be far wrong if we estimate it at 2 watches.

In that case the vessel occupies 86 watches in travelling 606 miles in the sheltered waters from Samudra to Pedra Branca, an average of 7.046 miles in each watch, or 2.93 miles an hour.

But the existence of the hiatus makes it impossible to state the exact mileage. The fastest voyage was 54 miles in 5 watches (from Malacca to Gunong Banang), an average of 10.8 miles a watch or 4.5 miles an hour: the slowest 66 miles in 15 watches (from The Brothers to the Aroa Islands) and 22 miles in 5 watches (from the Kerimun Islands to Coney Islet), an average of 4.4 miles a watch or 1.8 miles an hour.

In open waters, from Pedra Branca to Pulau Aur, a much greater speed was attained, 75 miles in 5 watches, an average of 6.25 miles an hour.

On the subject of distance Mr. Best has written a most interesting note which the writer summarizes as follows:— it must be remembered that with the vessels then in use, little or no forward movement could be made with the wind forward of the beam and a foul tide: the best speed shown is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, while a modern junk under best conditions and not overloaded would sail possibly $8\frac{1}{2}$ with a strong fair wind; it can safely be presumed that the difference in speed would be far more noticeable in light weather and with the wind anywhere near ahead:

At times the north-going or ebb tide in the Straits of Malacca runs at 3 knots; the prevailing winds between Malacca and Singapore are light and from South to South-east over most of the year and the fair tide (*i.e.* the south-going tide) runs only $1-1\frac{1}{2}$ knots:

Unless the ship was exceptionally lucky, there must have been spells when for 6-7 hours she would have to anchor: while the total time from Malacca to Raffles Light is given as 15 "kêngs" or 36 hours, a modern junk probably averages no better than 3-4 days for this trip, and even in a modern sailing-boat it is often impossible to improve on 36 hours without the use of auxiliary engine.

From "a certain uniformity or rather a lack of discrepancy", Mr. Best concludes that the times given represent,

not those taken on any actual voyage, but those which the compiler considers the average times occupied over the various stretches, or else the actual time under-way omitting the periods when it was set back by a foul tide. The present writer might add that from a perfunctory examination of certain Chinese voyages, it would appear that where the time is given in watches, a vessel's speed is about twice as great as is the case where the time is given in days.

Various explanations present themselves: perhaps the most probable is that where the period is expressed in days no allowance is made for the efflux of time while the vessel anchored for the night.

- (6) The average direction given in the Chart is, from Diamond Point to the Kerimun Islands $126^{\circ} 29'$, and from Parcelar Hill to the Kerimun Islands $128^{\circ} 13'$: one concludes that the author of the Chart considered that the Sumatran coast and the Malayan coast ran, between those places, in the general direction of North-west to South-east (135°).

The result of the hiatus is inappreciable, and, in any case, if the prescribed courses are joined up without a hiatus, the result will be to place the Kerimun Islands (and therefore the Sumatran coast, which is visible from the Kerimun Islands) to westward of their actual position; that is, the general direction of the coast will approximate still more closely to 135° .

The method whereby the coast is represented as running in the general direction from east to west, is deliberately adopted, one thinks, in order to set out as many sea-routes as possible on a single document: the same method is adopted in the so-called Peutinger Table, a map of the third century showing, in one long strip, the lands between Western Europe and the Ganges.

The learned co-director of *T'oung Pao* stated in 1933 "In all these texts it is necessary to remember that the Chinese considered Sumatra as extending East—West, and not North-West to South-East; this is also the case with the map published by Phillips" (*T'oung Pao*. Vol XXX. (1933), p. 373): perhaps that distinguished Sinologue was acquainted with some evidence of which the present writer is not aware; but, if the sailing-directions given in the Chart can be relied upon as accurate, it is respectfully submitted, not as a matter of Chinese but as a matter of arithmetic, that the coast of Sumatra from Diamond Point to the Kerimun Islands, was considered by the compiler of this Chart to extend in a general direction only 9 degrees east of south-east.

Secondly, as to the inferences.

- (1) From the introductory statement which Phillips renders "The distances, countries, etc., marked on the map are entered correctly and carefully for the guidance of posterity, and as a memento of Cheng Ho's military achievements", Phillips infers that the compiler of the Chart "had recourse to other maps of the same countries to compare them with": Phillips thinks that most probably such was the case, and he quotes from Ramusio's edition of Marco Polo, "He [M. Polo] will relate the strange things that he saw in those Indies, not omitting others which he heard related by persons of reputation and worthy of credit, and things that were pointed out to him on the maps of mariners of the Indies aforesaid." One may note that Kublai's commander on the expedition to Java in 1292, brought back (in May-June, 1293), *inter alia*, a map of Java (*T'oung Pao*. Vol XV. (1914), p. 446): and in 1372 the Chola King sent an ambassador who offered among other things a map of the country; in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Cholas had nautical texts and developed a real cartographical activity (*T'oung Pao*. Vol. XXX. (1933). p. 328).

- (2) From the same introductory statement it seems justifiable to infer that where the Chart is silent, the Chinese were ignorant of, and therefore presumably did not visit, the places of which no mention is made.

In the Malay Peninsula the Chart neglects to mark, *inter alia*, the following places which we know from the "Nagarakretagama" (1365) to have existed at that time, *viz* :—

"Dungun" in Trengganu, "Muwar" in Johore, "Naçor" in Siam (Nagor, Lakhon, Ligor), "Paka" in Trengganu, "Sang Hyang Hudjung" in Negri Sembilan.

To go somewhat further afield, Java is represented as only about $\frac{1}{9}$ the length of Sumatra (actually it is about $\frac{1}{3}$ the length), and, except for the one name "Java", not a single place-name is marked on the island.

Again, on the west coast of Further India, detailed information stops at Junk Ceylon Island, and north of that only 1 place is mentioned, namely, *Ta na ssu li* (荅那思里), Tenasserim.

- (3) From the number of places named in the Chart and from the sailing-directions, one infers that, as regards the Malay Peninsula and adjacent waters, the Chinese had a detailed knowledge of most places, and had discovered some, if not all, the dangers to be avoided in navigating the Straits

of Malacca and Singapore; for instance, it is clear that they appreciated the necessity for carefulness in sailing between the North Sands and South Sands on the course from the Aroa Islands to Parcelar Hill, and in sailing to the north of Tree Island before rounding Coney Islet on the course through Singapore Main Strait.

- (4) From the manner in which the coast-lines are drawn and from the compass-points given in the sailing-directions, one infers that the Chinese at this time were quite capable of executing a Chart setting out the general direction of the coasts and the approximate position of the islands. One has only to observe the curious configuration of the Deli Estuary as it is represented in the Chart (亞路, *Ya-lu*, i.e. Aru) and compare it with the map in Anderson's *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra* (1826), to realize that the Chinese appreciated the contour of the bay and were quite capable of delineating an identifiable representation of it on paper.
- (5) From the fact that the broken line indicating the course shows that the vessel puts in at certain places, one infers that these were the most important ports of call; in and around Malaya they are:—
 - (a) the Mekong River (according to Phillips' identification),
 - (b) Malacca
 - (c) Samudra
 - (d) a place in Ceylon, apparently at or near Galle or Batticaloa.

One notes that in Sumatra the only port thus indicated is Samudra: Palembang is not thus indicated, nor any place on the western coast of Further India between Malacca and Bengal.

- (6) From the occurrence of the expression 官廠 (*Kuan Ch'ang* "Official Building") at Malacca and Samudra, one infers that there was an organized Government, with an office at those places.

It is doubtful, however, whether it is justifiable to make the same inference from the occurrence of the name 官嶼 (*Kuan hsü*, "Government Island") near the south-eastern extremity of Johore; this may be merely a place name.

- (7) From the legends occurring at certain places on the east coast, one infers that laka-wood was an important article of export from the district between the Kelantan and Telubin Rivers and also from the district between the Telubin

and Patani Rivers: that sapan-wood was an important article of export from the district lying to the south of Triple Peak in Siam.

- (8) From the fact that on the east coast between Singora and the Bangkok River the Chart mentions only a few islands and mountain peaks, one infers that the Chinese were acquainted with the sea-route along the coast, but did not visit any places on the mainland, except perhaps a place not specially named, in the vicinity of Triple Peak, to pick up the sapan-wood.

As regards the East Coast generally Mr. Best points out the notable omissions of Bukit Bauk (nearly 2000 feet high, a little north of Kuala Paka), Besut, and Gunong Batil (about 4000 feet high).

He forms the impression that the navigator paid less attention to shore-marks on the east coast than on the west coast.

He suggests that perhaps these waters were regarded as unsafe for visitors and the passage was made well out to sea.

- (9) Local place-names, presumably Malay, have survived with extra-ordinary vitality during the last 500 years.
- (10) The Chinese often gave their own Chinese names to places: in the 40 cases in which the origin of a name can be traced with reasonable certainty, it transpires that in 17 cases the name is Chinese, in 17 cases it is a transliteration of a Malay name, and in 6 cases a translation of a Malay name.
- (11) Of the transliterated names in which the dialect can apparently be traced, it transpires that the Amoy dialect was the normal medium of transliteration, while Cantonese may have been the medium in 4 instances (Langkasuka (Patani), Sai (Telubin), Kelantan, and Trengganu): the preponderance of the cases in which the Amoy dialect was used leads one to suspect that actually it may have been used in every case and that the apparent use of Cantonese may be fallacious or otherwise explicable: presumably the Chinese names are to be ascribed to one of two sources, either to some person travelling with a fleet or to some Chinese resident familiar with the local names: if the former was the actual source, we should expect the names to be transliterated in the same dialect, except that occasionally the Chinese who normally speak one dialect, pronounce in another dialect proper names which they have learnt from other Chinese normally speaking that other dialect, e.g. Amoy Hokkiens often speak of Pahang as "*Pang Hang*" because the Cantonese so call it: on the other hand, if the names were ascertained from a Chinese resident, the Chart indicates that in most cases this resident normally spoke the Amoy dialect.

EPILOGUE.

At Pulau Condor, the limit of "Tanah Malayu", we take our leave of His Excellency Chêng Ho.

We owe him a debt of gratitude for the valuable information which he has given us.

So we wave a sincere *bon voyage* to him and his bold mariners as, running before the wind in their latest-model racing junk, they go crashing northwards at 6 miles an hour.

Next stop Quinhone Harbour.

ADDENDUM.

By the kindness of the authorities at the Library of Congress (including Dr. Hummel, Chief of the Department of Orientalia) the writer has recently obtained a reproduction of the Chart from the *Wu-pei-chih* in the Library of Congress.

The writer desires to express his great indebtedness to these gentlemen.

It transpires that this Chart is not printed from the same blocks as Phillips' reproduction; differences exist both of form and matter. There must, therefore, have been at least three editions of this Chart.

The tracings which accompany the present paper do not reproduce Phillips' chart with absolute fidelity: they are, however, sufficiently accurate for practical purposes.

ON A COLLECTION OF MALAYAN MAPS IN RAFFLES LIBRARY

By J. V. MILLS, M.C.S.

In 1934 the writer was commissioned to make a collection of early maps and charts relating to the Malay Peninsula. He accordingly spent many months during the summer of that year examining available material in the libraries of the British Museum, the Royal Geographical Society, the School of Oriental Studies and the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

Though an ignorant student, he was everywhere received with almost incredible kindness, and he desires to express his most sincere gratitude to all his mentors, particularly to Mr. E. G. Lynam, Head of the Map Department at the British Museum, for the helpfulness and efficiency of his staff. Many hundred maps were scrutinized, and while it had been originally intended to include every map of Malaya, it soon became evident that this would be not only cumbersome and expensive, but also unprofitable : for what boots it to include a small map of, say, 1850 A.D., containing only the one name Malacca ?

At a later date, other maps were obtained through the courtesy of the authorities at the Huntington Library of Los Angeles, the Royal Geographical Institute of Utrecht, and the Royal Library of Munich.

The officers of the Malayan Survey Department were also kind enough to draw attention to certain old maps in their possession.

To all these gentlemen the writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness.

For reasons of economy, the reproductions took the form of photostats, not photographs.

Owing to pressure of other business, the " collection " was for many months neglected, and looked nothing more than a rubbishy jumble of black and white papers with torn edges.

Then to the rescue came Mrs. K. Savage-Bailey, the capable and energetic Librarian of the Raffles Library : she soon devised a scheme for reducing chaos not only to order but to attractiveness : the edges were trimmed : the photostats were numbered in chronological order, and pasted on boards of convenient size : and loose covers were procured to contain the boards.

The " Collection " now comprises 4 handsome portfolios in which the most important documents for the study of early 1937] *Royal Asiatic Society.*

Malayan cartography are presented to the student in clear and attractive form.

An Index to the collection will be found at the conclusion of this note.

For purposes of convenience the maps are divided into 4 periods :—(1) before 1600, (2) 1600-1699, (3) 1700-1799, (4) 1800-1879.

At the year 1879 the collection stops, for there the early period ends and the modern period begins with the adequate map published by the Royal Asiatic Society in that year.

Strictly, that map should have been excluded, but it was thought that its inclusion would be useful for purposes of comparison.

Including that map, the collection consists of 208 maps and charts.

Opinions will differ as to the propriety of including or excluding a number of particular maps ; nor is it possible to say what new discoveries may be made in the pigeon-holes of unexplored libraries.

It is hoped, however, that the error represented by omissions or redundancies will not amount to more than some ten per cent.

In certain cases, maps have been included which do not represent the latest available knowledge ; this is done because they may be presumed to indicate the extent of cartographical knowledge at that date in the countries from which they emanate: this will explain the inclusion of Verbiest's map of 1669 (No. 114) and the Italian maps of 1784-5 (Nos. 165 and 166).

The writer wishes to emphasize that, so far from being the last word, this collection represents the first word in the sphere of local map collection. Without years of leisure it is not practicable to produce a collection of maps too perfect for criticism.

The subject of Malayan cartography is practically untouched, and so far as the writer is aware has only twice been handled, viz. in Sir Hugh Clifford's *Further India* (1904), and in Rudolf Martin's German book *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel* (1905).

The writer is only too conscious of the defects in this collection : this note is written largely to warn the student of these defects, and by emphasizing them to encourage someone in future years to compile another and better collection of maps to supersede the present one.

Such a student must be prepared for bitter delays and heart-burning disappointments, and he must needs read widely in, at

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least, English and French, and have a rudimentary knowledge of several other languages.

The more obvious defects in the present collection are six in number ; or, to put the matter more kindly, it is capable of improvement in six different respects: First: a more thorough search should be made for available material ; the writer cannot claim to have done more than make a fairly thorough search in the indices of the British Museum and the Royal Geographical Society ; the libraries of Portugal, Spain, and Holland can probably yield fresh maps, perhaps too the libraries of Italy and Denmark ; one knows, for instance, that in the Museo Naval at Madrid there is (or was) another edition or copy of the Bugis map of c. 1818 (No. 176) ; this should be obtained and compared with the reproduction now included :

Secondly : a more careful selection should be made of available maps ; for instance, it might well be that one of the two French maps of Penang (Nos. 145, 146) ought to be omitted, and that one ought to include the map from Wright's "*Certain errors in Navigation*" (1657) which marks a place called "Atalota" between "Mallaca" and "Muur" :

Thirdly : it is desirable to substitute photographs for photostats, which admittedly are not true in proportion over the whole of the surface :

Fourthly : a careful attempt should be made to photograph the originals and not copies ; for instance it will be seen that the reproduction of Gijsbertssoon's map of 1599 (No. 77) is on too small a scale ; again, copies are not always accurate, as the writer found when examining Eredia's map of Malacca Territory ; in the photostat (No. 90) which reproduces the copy in Janssen's book, *Malacca, l'Inde Meridionale et le Cathay*, there appears a name, near Alor Gajah, which looks like "batucuradira" whereas the photograph of the original MS. obtained from Brussels gives the name as the easily-explicable "batucuracura" (cf. J.R.A.S. M.B. Vol. VIII. Part I. (1930). facing p. 207), "kura-kura" being the Malay name for "tortoise" ; sometimes it may be difficult to obtain photographs of originals, for instance, one has to go to Italy for the original of Fra Mauro's map (No. 18) though the British Museum copy is said to be very good, and occasionally it may be impossible to photograph originals, since curators of Museums are sometimes loth to permit the handling of valuable old documents which deteriorate with every touch:

Fifthly : the date of each map should be ascertained with greater exactness ; extensive reading may be necessary for this ; if an undated map is found in a volume of manuscripts containing certain dated documents, one cannot do better, *prima facie*, than suggest a date approximately mid-way between the earliest and latest date (Nos. 116, 117) ; again, the authorities sometimes

differ about the date; take, for instance, Vaz Dourado's map No. 63), Teliki gives the date as 1560, Caraci says that Teliki is wrong and prefers 1568, while Abendanon seems to suggest 1580:

Sixthly: more care should be devoted to ascertaining the "maker" of the map; in the Index, this word is used with such elasticity as to cover "the surveyor, the compiler, the publisher, etc."; before completeness can be claimed, we ought to know the names of the surveyor, the compiler, the draughtsman, the engraver and the publisher; even when the name of the author is apparent, caution is needed, for we may find, as in the case of Blaeu, that the map in question is not the handiwork of Blaeu at all, and that the application of his name to the map indicates merely that it was obtainable in his office.

Having made his collection of maps, the student will probably feel the urge to interpret and explain them, and will at once be confronted by the realization that he is not competent to understand all of them unless he has some knowledge of Greek, Latin, English, French, Chinese, Italian, German, Portuguese, Dutch, and Bugis: he need not be completely deterred by that difficulty, however, for this is a fit subject for co-operation and there is no reason why half a dozen students should not join forces to pool their linguistic resources. The elucidation of the maps is not without its fascination; problems present themselves in plenty, largely by reason of what might be called "false-word puzzles"; as a distinguished English geographer, Mr. A. R. Hinks, F.R.S., has written "The same details and the same selection of names are repeated with gradual corruption from one map to another". What may be the meaning of "Dauxety", an island off the east coast of Africa? The answer is that it is a corruption of "Laurentii", the Portuguese name for Madagascar. To come to Malaya, what is the explanation of Meduar or Modobar or Mican or Serga? Why does the Chinese mappist of 1584 write "San-fo-chai" (Palembang) in the middle of the Malay Peninsula? And so on, if not *ad infinitum*, at any rate, in very numerous instances. But the answers to these questions the present writer will not tell—even if he knew them, which he does not—for the aim of this note is not to write an exposition, but to whet the appetite.

BEFORE 1600 A.D.

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
	B.C.		
3	c. 1000	EREDIA (1616)	BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE. PARIS. SUPPL. 4567.
	A.D.		
6	c. 150	ORTELIUS (1597)	HUNTINGTON LIBRARY. U.S.A.
7	c. 150	PTOLEMY	BRITISH MUSEUM READING ROOM. I.C. 9303 ("ULM PTOLEMY", 1482).
8	c. 150	PTOLEMY	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. c. i. d. 5: PENULTIMATE MAP. ("ROME PTOLEMY", 1508).
12	1154	IDRISI	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 33. b. 4: III BAND: ASIEN I: p. 46.
13	1154	MILLER (1927)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 33. b. 4: III BAND: ASIEN I: p. 47.
14	1192	IDRISI	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 33. b. 4: I BAND, 3 heft. (BACK COVER).
16	c 1433	? MAO K'UN (c. 1575)	JRAS. NORTH CHINA BRANCH NS. VOL. XXI. NO. 1 FACING PAGE 42.
17	c. 1433	? MAO K'UN (c. 1575)	BRITISH MUSEUM. ORIENTAL DEPT. 15,299. c. 22.
18	1457	FRA MAURO	BRITISH MUSEUM MS. DEPT. ADD. 11,267.
21	1502	CANERIO	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 148. e. 25.
22	1502	CANTINO	R. GEOG. SOCIETY. STEVENSON FACSIMILE NO. 1. SHEETS 9-10 and 14-15.
23	1502	TOMASCHEK (1897)	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 14,498. d. 9. PLATE XXVII.
25	1506	CONTARINI	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 25. b. 31.
26	1507	WALDSEE MULLER	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 184. f. 1.
27	? 1508	? MAIOLLO	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. EGERTON 2803.
28	1508	RUYSCH	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. c. i. d. 5: SECOND MAP ("ROME PTOLEMY")

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
30	c. 1513	RODRIGUEZ	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 149. e. 7. PAGE 85. NO. 18.
31	c. 1513	RODRIGUEZ	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 149. e. 7. PAGE 84. NO. 15.
32	1513	WALDSEE MULLER	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. c. i. d. 8. PAGE 86.
33	1515	MAIOLLO	ROYAL LIBRARY. MUNICH. ICON. 735.
34	1516	WALDSEE MULLER	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 184. f. 1.
35	c. 1516	REINEL	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. Ac. 2647/3. FASC. 35. APPENDIX.
36	c. 1517	REINEL	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. Ac. 2647/3. FASC. 35. APPENDIX.
37	c. 1520	ANONYMOUS (PORTUGUESE)	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. Ac. 2647/3. FASC. 35. APPENDIX.
39	1523-5	ANONYMOUS (TURIN SPANISH)	R. GEOG. SOCIETY. STEVENSON FACSIMILE. NO. 6. SHEET 6.
40	c. 1525	ANONYMOUS (? SPANISH)	R. GEOG. SOCIETY. A. 7-37.
41	1525-7	? SALVIATI	R. GEOG. SOCIETY. STEVENSON FACSIMILE. NO. 7. SHEET 16.
43	1527	MAIOLLO	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 148. e. 26(2).
44	1529	RIBEIRO	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. S.T.W. (1).
46	c. 1536	? DESCELIERS	BRITISH MUSEUM. M.S. DEPT. ADD. 5,413.
47	1541	DESLIENS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 147. d. 24. PLATE IV.
48	1542	ROTZ	BRITISH MUSEUM. M.S. DEPT. ROYAL. 20 E. IX. PLATE 10.
49	1544	CABOT	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 149. e. 20. PLATE XX. 1.
50	1546	DESCELIERS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 49. e. 20. PLATE XIX. 6.

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
52	1550	DESCELIERS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 24,065.
53	1553	DESCELIERS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 144. d. 34.
55	1558	HOMEM	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 5, 415A. PAGE 17.
56	1561	GASTALDI	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 5.e. 4. PLATE LVI.
58	1568	HOMEM	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 147. d. 24. PLATE XV.
59	1569	MERCATOR	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 149. e. 20. PLATE XXI. 8.
60	c. 1572	ANONYMOUS (PORTUGUESE)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 2. e. 24. PLATE III. 2.
62	1578	MARTINES	BRITISH MUSEUM. M.S. DEPT. HARLEIAN 3450.
63	c. 1580	DOURADO	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 2. e. 24. PLATE IV. 1.
64	c. 1580	DOURADO	LINSCHOTEN SOCIETY. NO. VII. KAART IV.
65	c. 1580	ANONYMOUS (PORTUGUESE)	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 1712. f. 27. PLATE V.
66	1584	ANONYMOUS (CHINESE)	R. GEOG. SOCIETY. MAP ROOM. (About half size of original).
67	1590	LAÇO	LINSCHOTEN SOCIETY. NO. XXV. PART 2: KAART IX.
68	1592	PLACIUS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 184. k. 1.
69	1593	DE JODE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 2. e. 24. PLATE IV. 2.
70	1595	ORTELIUS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. c. 2. d. 5. MAP 108.
72	1596	LANGREN	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60875: (9).
73	1596	LODEWYCKSZ	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 88716. (1).
74	1598	LINSCHOTEN	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. c. 55. g. 7. FACING PAGE 328.
75	1598	LINSCHOTEN	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. c. 55. g. 7. FACING PAGE 32.
76	1598	LODEWYCKSZ	LINSCHOTEN SOCIETY. NO. VII: KAART VII.
77	1599	GIJSBERTSSOON	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 1712. f. 27. PLATE VII.

1600—1699 A.D.

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
78	c. 1600	WINSTEDT (1932)	JRASMB. VOL. X. PART III: END.
79	c. 1600	LANGREN	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 184. k. I. VOL. II. PLATE 40 (bis).
80	1602	TATTON	ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. A. 9-3. (About $\frac{3}{4}$ size of original).
81	1605	HULSIUS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 88715 (4).
82	1605	BLAEU	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 148. e. 24.
83	1606	MERCATOR - HONDIUS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. c. 3. c. 6. PAGE 337 V-338 R.
85	1611	HONDIUS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 148. e. 23.
86	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. FOLIO 8 R.
87	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. FOLIO 9 R.
88	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. FOLIO 9 V.
89	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. FOLIO 11 V.
90	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. BETWEEN FOLIO 11 AND 13.
91	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. FOLIO 25 V.
92	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. FOLIO 45 R.
93	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. FOLIO 60 V.
94	1613	EREDIA	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10058. I. I. FOLIO 61 R.
95	1613	CARDON (1933)	JRASMB. VOL. XII. PART II: FACING p. I.
96	1617	VISSCHER	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 20. d. 31. VOL. II. 3.
98	1623	LANGREN	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10057. f. 10. BETWEEN p. 22 AND 23.

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
99	1623	SANCHES	BRITISH MUSEUM. M.S. DEPT. ADD. 22,874.
101	1633	M E R C A T O R - HONDIUS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 20. d. 31. VOL. II. 7.
102	1635	BERTHELOT	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. SLOANE NO. 197. FOLIO 380 R.
103	1635	BERTHELOT	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. SLOANE NO. 197. FOLIO 389 V-390 R.
104	c 1635	A N O N Y M O U S (PORTUGUESE)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. SLOANE NO. 197. FOLIO 381 V-382 R.
106	1640	BLAEU	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP. DEPT. 20. d. 31. VOL. II. 10.
108	1648	BLAEU	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 184. k. 1. VOL. III. PLATE 61.
109	1652	ALLARDT	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 20. d. 31. VOL. II-III. SUPPLEMENT.
110	1657-8	VISSCHER	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 20. d. 31. VOL. III. 4.
111	1663	A N O N Y M O U S (DUTCH)	JRASMB. VOL. XIV. PART 1: FACING p. 176.
112	1664	BLAEU	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. c. 4. d. 1. (MAP 2)
113	1667	BLAEU	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 9047 G.
114	1669	VERBIEST	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 183. p. 4: SHEET E.6.
115	c. 1670	SCHENK A N D VALK	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. K.116.45.
116	c. 1673	PAUL	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. ROOM. ADD. 5027 A. PAGE 34.
117	c. 1673	PAUL	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. ROOM. ADD. 5027 A. PAGE 102.
118	c. 1680	WILDE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,737. (MAP 10).
120	1687	CORONELLI	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 24. e. 28. MAP 105.
121	1688	MOLL	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 10028. g. 28. FACING p. 9.
122	1688-90	KEMPTHORNE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SLOANE NO. 3665. FOLIO 59 V-60 R.
123	1688-90	KEMPTHORNE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. SLOANE NO. 3665. FOLIO 68 V-69 R.
124	c. 1690	BOWREY	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 5222. (10).

1700—1799 A.D.

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
126	1700	EBERARD	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,738. CARTE 40.
127	1700	EBERARD	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15738. CARTE 29.
		(FIRST PORTION)	
127	1700	EBERARD	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,738. CARTE 29.
		(SECOND PORTION)	
128	1705	DE L'ISLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM K. 115. 4.
129	? 1710	ANONYMOUS (ENGLISH)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 88,715. (2).
130	? 1710	MOLL	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 52,410 (4)
131	1710	ALLARD	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. c. 6. c. 4. TOME III. MAP 471.
132	1711	THORNTON	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 22. d. 15. BETWEEN p. 72 AND 73.
133	1711	THORNTON	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 22. d. 15. BETWEEN p. 60 AND 61.
134	c. 1714	SENEX AND MAXWELL	HUNTINGTON LIBRARY. U.S.A.
135	1714	BOWEN	HUNTINGTON LIBRARY U.S.A.
136	1719	MR. C.	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. K. 209. i. 6. TOME V: FACING p. 124.
138	1726	VALENTIJN	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM G. 7031: AFTER p. 360.
139	1728	KNAPTON	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 31. e. 4: MAP 33.
141	c. 1740	OTTENS	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. K. 116. 3.
143	1750	ROBERT	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP. DEPT. 38. f. 3. MAP 97.
144	1750	MOUNT AND PAGE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60.001. 7. (Reduced to 2/3).
		(FIRST PORTION)	

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
144	1750	MOUNT AND PAGE (SECOND PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60,001. 7. (Reduced to 2/3).
145	c. 1750	ANONYMOUS (FRENCH)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,331. PLATE 18.
146	c. 1750	ANONYMOUS (FRENCH)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,331. PLATE 17.
147	? c. 1752	? D'ANVILLE	HUNTINGTON LIBRARY U.S.A.
148	1752	D'ANVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. K. 114. 17.
150	1762	HINTON	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 58,415. (1).
151	1763	ALVES	HUNTINGTON LIBRARY. U.S.A.
153	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,319. CARTE 12.
154	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,319. CARTE 13.
155	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,319. CARTE 15.
156	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,319. CARTE 17.
157	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MS. DEPT. ADD. 15,319. CARTE 21.
158	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 460. g. 8. CARTE 39.
159	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 460. g. 8. CARTE 49.
160	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 460. g. 8. CARTE 50.
161	1775	MANNEVILLE	BRITISH MUSEUM. READING ROOM. 460. g. 8. CARTE 51.
163	1780	KITCHIN	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 40. f. 5. MAP 23.
164	c. 1781	ASBRIDGE	HUNTINGTON LIBRARY. U.S.A.

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION	
165	c. 1784	ZATTA E. FIGLI	HUNTINGTON U.S.A.	LIBRARY.
166	1785	ZATTA E. FIGLI	HUNTINGTON U.S.A.	LIBRARY.
167	c. 1786	FORREST	HUNTINGTON U.S.A.	LIBRARY.
168	c. 1786	FORREST	HUNTINGTON U.S.A.	LIBRARY.
169	c. 1786	CUMMING	HUNTINGTON U.S.A.	LIBRARY.
170	—	—	—	—
171	c. 1794	LINDSEY	BRITISH MUSEUM, READING ROOM 570. h. 3. MAP 5.	

1800—1879 A.D.

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
173	1806	HORSBURGH	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 147. e. 18: MAP 122.
174	1808	CARY	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 40. f. 10: MAP 44.
175	1813	PINKERTON	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 45. f. 7.
176	c. 1818	ANONYMOUS (BUGIS)	GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE, UTRECHT.
177	1818	LINDSAY	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60001. (1). (Reduced to 2/3).
178	1820	CRAWFORD	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 147. e. 18: PAGE 125. Reduced on 2/3).
180	1832	WYLD	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 58765. (8).
181	1833	HORSBURGH	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. MAPS 148 e. 18.
		(FIRST PORTION)	
181	1833	HORSBURGH	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. MAPS 148. e. 18.
		(SECOND PORTION)	
182	1836	TASSIN	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 7. c. 18: FACING P. 86 (bis).
183	c. 1836	TASSIN	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 7. c. 18: FACING P. 246.
184	1836	TASSIN	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 7. c. 18: FACING P. 269.
185	1840	BRITISH ADMIRALTY	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SEC. XII. (1353).
186	1840	BRITISH ADMIRALTY	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SEC. XII. (1355).
187	1840	TASSIN	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 46900. (30).
189	1849	THOMSON	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SEC. XII. (2041). (Reduced to 2/3)
190	1851	THOMSON	JOURNAL OF THE IND. ARCH. VOL. VI: FACING P. 499.
191	1852	HOBBS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60001. (3).
		(FIRST PORTION)	
191	1852	HOBBS	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60001. (3).
		(SECOND PORTION)	

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
192	1853	VALBERG	JOURNAL OF THE IND. ARCH. N.S. VOL. I: FACING P. 298
193	1857	RICHARDS (FIRST PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP. DEPT. SEC. XIII. 998.
193	1857	RICHARDS (SECOND PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SEC. XIII. 998.
194	1857	RICHARD	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. H. F. SEC. 17 (3076).
195	1859	IMRAY (FIRST PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60001. (4).
195	1859	IMRAY (SECOND PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60001. (4).
195	1859	IMRAY (THIRD PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 60001. (4).
196	1860	ROSE, MORESBY AND WARD (FIRST PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SEC. XII. (1353).
196	1860	ROSE, MORESBY AND WARD (SECOND PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SEC. XII. (1353).
197	1860	ROSE, MORESBY AND WARD (FIRST PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SEC. XII. (1355).
197	1860	ROSE, MORESBY AND WARD (SECOND PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. SEC. XII. (1355).
198	1860	QUINTON	SURVEY OFFICE, SINGAPORE. (Reduced slightly).
199	1862	MONIOT	J.R.A.S.S.B. NO. 1: AFTER P. 56.
200	1866	FRENCH MINISTRY OF MARINE	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. H. F. SEC. 18 (2406).
201	c. 1866	ANONYMOUS (ENGLISH)	SURVEY OFFICE, SINGAPORE. Reduced to about 1/2).
202	1867	QUINTON	SURVEY OFFICE, SINGAPORE. (Reduced to about 2/3).
203	1868	QUINTON	RAFFLES LIBRARY, SINGAPORE. MAPS. S.X. (Reduced to about 2/3).
204	1872	LOFTUS (FIRST PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. I.M.S. (1179).

SERIAL NO.	DATE TO WHICH THE MAP RELATES	MAKER	SOURCE OF THE PRESENT REPRODUCTION
204	1872	LOFTUS (SECOND PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. I.M.S. (1179).
205	? 1876	McNAIR	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 59800. (2).
206	1878	McNAIR	SURVEY OFFICE, SINGAPORE. (Reduced to about 2/3).
207	1878	S T R A I T S B R A N C H , ROYAL ASIA- TIC SOCIETY	J.R.A.S.S.B. NO. 1: AFTER P. 56.
208	1879	S T R A I T S B R A N C H , ROYAL ASIA- TIC SOCIETY (FIRST PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 59800. (1).
208	1879	S T R A I T S B R A N C H , ROYAL ASIA- TIC SOCIETY (SECOND PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 59800. (1).
208	1879	S T R A I T S B R A N C H , ROYAL ASIA- TIC SOCIETY (THIRD PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 59800. (1).
208	1879	S T R A I T S B R A N C H , ROYAL ASIA- TIC SOCIETY (FOURTH PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 59800. (1).
208	1879	S T R A I T S B R A N C H , ROYAL ASIA- TIC SOCIETY (FIFTH PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 59800. (1).
208	1879	S T R A I T S B R A N C H , ROYAL ASIA- TIC SOCIETY (SIXTH PORTION)	BRITISH MUSEUM. MAP DEPT. 59800. (1).

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES
IN THE MALAY PENINSULA AND THE
STRAITS OF MALACCA.

By ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A., (Oxon.), F.R.G.S.

S 3. Pre-Funan (Continued from Vol. XIV. pt. 3, 1936, p. 71).

Our anticipation of the *Sejarah Melayu* will have prepared the reader's mind for the introduction of the Indians into the story of the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca and we propose now to use the Kedah Annals as a convenient vehicle for continuing our consideration of the period we term Pre-Funan which takes us up to the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

We turn then to the early traditions of the ancient State of Kedah which are embodied in the very interesting *Hikayat Marong Maha Wangsa*¹, usually called in English the Kedah Annals. When they were reduced to writing we have been unable to discover but they were translated into English by Col. James Low (121) in 1849. He thought it probable that the Annals were originally "written in some Hindu dialect, until Islamism prevailed in Keddah, when the previous order of things was subverted, and the Arabic character was introduced" (121, p. 3). It is said that Low's translation is not a good one but nobody else has bothered to provide another during the eighty-eight years that have elapsed since its publication, though Bland in 1910 contributed a précis in English of a part of the Annals (122) and Sturrock has edited in romanised Malay Wilkinson's *jawi* edition (123). There has, moreover, been no local consideration of the contents of the Annals beyond Low's own notes appended to his translation, except a note by Blagden (124) upon the cannibal King of Kedah and an article by Winstedt (125) containing some general references. An examination of the Annals, therefore, is much overdue.

The Kedah tradition of royal descent begins not with a royal prince but with a semi-royal ambassador who was sent on an embassy to China. The first Annal translated by Low relates the voyage of the ambassador, the shipwreck of most of his fleet and his consequent foundation of the settlement of Kedah.

The Annals tell us (121, p. 4) that "after the war of Rama the Island of Lankapuri became a desert, and fell under the rule of the mighty bird Girda which however had previously harboured on the Island". Girda is, of course, Garuda, Vishnu's bird, and Low tells us that Lankapuri was the Lankawi islands

¹ Meaning "Story of Marong Mahawangsa; or Marong of the Great Family."

but says that "there was a Lankapuri likewise lying somewhere betwixt Palembang and Jambi in Sumatra". Much more, however, must be said than that and we shall find ourselves involved in the ancient Indian geographic picture of south-eastern Asia and the Malay Archipelago.

Ancient Indian geography is a difficult matter to consider because the subject has not yet received from Indian scholars sufficient attention nor are they in sufficient agreement, and also because our main local library has a deficiency of books dealing with things Indian : but quite enough can be said to show local students what a profitable object of study is to be found in the Puranas which deal with the evolution of the universe from the constituent elements, the genealogies of the gods and seers, groups of 'great ages' included in an aeon (*kalpa*) and the history of royal families¹. Actually the sanskrit word *purana* means simply an 'ancient tale' or 'old narrative' and for a general picture of the Puranas the reader is referred to an excellent article by Ramachandra Dikshitar (126).

The Purāṇas go as a whole by the name of the Fifth Veda and they must have attained celebrity in the latter part of the Vedic period. There are 18 Mahapurana or Great Puranas and 18 Upapurana or small Puranas. Of the Mahapurana the most important for our present purpose is the Vayu Purana, of which there is a study by Ramachandra Dikshitar issued by the University of Madras (127). The Puranas date from a period prior to Gautama Buddha for the earlier ; those of them that contain the dynastic lists show evidence of revision during the beginning of our era up to 500 A.D. ; and it seems that the composition of the whole body spread over some centuries, some of them being prior to the Mahabharata since the Puranas are mentioned in that epic. Many of them were translated into Tamil and passed into the great literature of the Sangam Age. They give a picture of the cosmogony according to ancient Indian conception and the Vayu Purana in its chapter 48 gives a picture of Greater India which makes this purana so important to us. Portions of the Vayu Purana, which is considered to be one of the earliest of those extant to-day date back to the 5th century B.C. but other portions must have been added or revised as late as 500 A.D. (127, pp. 46-49). Jayaswal considers that the important chapter 48 gives names current in Gupta times² (109, p. 155, n. 5).

The Brahman conception of the world was that it contained seven concentric *dvipas*—Jambu, Saka, Kusa, Salmala (Salmali or Shalmali), Krauncha, Gomeda (Gomanda or Plaksha) and Pushkara—encircled by seven *samudras*, or collections of water, the Seven Seas in fact. *Dvipa* is often translated bluntly into

¹Cambridge History of India, vol : 1 p. 296.

²320-600 A.D.

'island' but primarily it meant 'land having water (and not sea) on two (and not all) of its sides' (128, p. xxxvii). Majumdar (ibid : p. 751) says that "it has also to be added in this connection that the word *dvīpa* has been derived by Panini as *dvi* and *ap*. It thus means land having water on two of its sides. Thus *dvīpa* is not identical with 'island'. It includes peninsulas and sometimes *doabs* also". Macdonell in his Sanskrit Dictionary says of *dvīpa* "sandbank in a river; island; concentric terrestrial island (the world being considered to consist of 4, 7, 13 or 18 such encircling Mount Meru like the petals of a lotus)". It is worthy of notice that the Chinese used the word *tcheou*¹ in the same way (129, p. 222). The Malays similarly gave their word for island *pulau*, an extended meaning; in Sumatra it is used as meaning the level bank of a river (24, p. 3) and Wilkinson in his Dictionary seems to show that the basic idea is a piece of land which is divided off or isolated by water or sea or marsh or rice-fields.

Of the seven *dvīpas* mentioned Jambu *dvīpa* is the central and represents Asia. The navel or centre of the earth is the Meru range and in its middle is the Meru Mountain or Sumeru or Maha Meru, as it was variously called; Tripathi (130, ix, p. 883) thinks that the Altai mountains formed the Meru range. Maha Meru itself contained the abode of the four-headed Brahma with camp residences of almost all the powerful gods (ibid : p. 884). Nundo Lal Dey (131, p. 197) says that there was also a Meru in Saka *dvīpa* which is the Hindukush mountain. Pliny and Arrian called it Mount Meros and said that it was the abode of Bacchus (102, pp. 156, 184).

It is an interesting fact that the conception of the earth as consisting of Seven Islands or Continents was not peculiar to ancient India. An article by Eckhard Unger in *Antiquity*² contains the following passage:—"The only example of a Babylonian world-map hitherto found dates from the Persian period and is probably part of a comprehensive description of the world. According to the text on the tablet we have here a chart of the 'Seven Islands' or regions supposed to lie between the 'Earthly Ocean'—called the 'Bitter River'—and the 'Heavenly Ocean'. A description of the latter, with its zodiacal signs, even comes into the text. Yet the round earth, with Babylon as its centre, the 'hub of the universe', is just roughly sketched in, being only required, apparently, to make clear the position of the 'Seven Islands'.... For a long time this cosmos was the accepted idea of the world, but every nation saw it with a different centre—itsself, placed, as the case might be, in Jerusalem,

¹When quoting French authors we use the French transliteration the Chinese character is 洲.

²Ancient Babylonian Maps and Plans, 1935, vol: ix, pp. 311-322 at p.314.

Egyptian Thebes or Greece, and naturally the arrangement within the cosmos varied accordingly”.

Jambudvipa was divided into nine *varsas* or continents of which Bharatavarsa occupied the southern-most part of the hemisphere. We now reach a source of much controversy. To quote Ramachandra Dikshitar (124, p. 17) “to what geographical territory the term *Bharatavarsa* is to be assigned is still a bone of contention among scholars. One school of scholars maintains that it means the Indian empire as it is to-day, including perhaps Burma. Others are of opinion that *Bharatavarsa* means Greater India and will therefore include Malaya Peninsula, Indian Archipelago, and even Indo-China”. The original is quoted without alteration.

The nine divisions were Indradvipa, Kaserumat or Kaserudvipa, Tamraparna or Tamravarni, Gabhastimat or Gabhastiman, Kumaridvipa or Kumarika, Nagadvipa, Saumya, Varuna, and Gandharva (128, p. 8 ; 127, pp. 18 and 19).

Majumdar makes these identifications (128, appendix 1)—Kumaradvipa is India proper ; Tamraparna is Ceylon ; Indradvipa is Burma, which conjecture he says is supported by Ptolemy ; Kaserumat is the Malay Peninsula ; Gandharva is Gandhara, the valley of the Kabul with a small tract of land to the east of the Indus ; for the rest he makes suggestions into which we need not go.

Jayaswal (109, pp. 154, 155) writes :—“ Between the Himavat and the sea, Bharatavarsha stands, but it covers a larger area on account of Indians (Bharatipraja) living in eight more islands or sea-girt lands (dvipas) ‘ which are mutually inaccessible on account of the sea intervening ’. India is the ninth in that sea-girt system. This clearly means that the eight dvipas or islands and peninsulas, inhabited by Indians, were in one direction from the Indian Peninsula. The direction is indicated by the situation of Tamraparni, one of the eight Hindu dvipas. All these dvipas were to the east, that is, they constituted what we call Further India. Indradvipa, the first dvipa in the list, has been satisfactorily identified with ‘ Burma ’. The Malay Peninsula was well known to Indians at that time, a fact evidenced by an inscription of the fourth century A.D. inscribed on a pillar (in the present district of Wellesly) by a Hindu sea-captain (Mahanavika) Budhagupta¹ of Eastern India, and it is very probable that the *Kaseru* or *Kaserumat* dvipa which is mentioned next to Indradvipa, meant the present Straits Settlements”. Jayaswal thus accepts three of Majumdar’s identifications ; but the rest he says are ‘ hopeless ’. He considers Nagadvipa to be the Nicobars, following Gerini (46, pp. 379-383) ; and he thinks that ‘ Naga ’ was the ethnic designation of the pre-Hindu

¹Actually the inscription gives the spelling Buddhagupta. R.B.

inhabitants of the Indian over-seas colonies. "Gabhastiman, meaning the 'Island of the Sun', Saumya, Gandharva and Varuna represent the Archipelago (Sumatra, Borneo, etc.) out of which Sumatra-Java had certainly settlements of Indians before the fourth century A.D. It is certain that the Puranas in the third and fourth centuries are conscious of the Hindu colonies in Further India and treat them as parts of Bharata-varsha".

Ramachandra Dikshitar (127), on the other hand, considers that the nine divisions of Bharatavarsa were all in India except Indradvipa which was Burma. He follows Gerini's identifications of the dvipas; and he is definite that Kaserumat or Kaserudvipa was not the Malay Peninsula but Eastern Bengal and Assam.

Where Indian scholars differ it is obvious that the writer can offer nothing but there is matter peculiar to the Vayu Purana which seems to have great bearing on the dispute and it is contained in Chapter 48 of that *purana* alone, no other containing anything like it. No English translation of this *purana* has yet been published but Professor Nilakanta Sastri has most kindly translated Chapter 48 for us. His translation is printed in the Appendix and should be studied closely by the reader. It is obvious that the chapter presents great interest to anthropologists and geologists as well as geographers and historians.

Tripathi (130, x, p. 121) summarizes the information in the Vayu Purana by saying that¹ "to the south of India, in the Indian Ocean there were many small hilly islands rising on the peaks of a mountain range called the Vidyutan range, inhabited by a short-statured people of cloud-blue colour enjoying short life, living on green fruits, roots, herbs and foliage like monkeys and cows². Besides these islands there were numerous small ones called the *Varhinadvipa Varsa* and six other islands inhabited by various classes of people and containing mines of different metals and gems. The names of these six islands are (1) Angadvipa (? Borneo); (2) Yama or Yavadvipa (? Java); (3) Malayadvipa (? Malayan Peninsula, or Celebes and Malacus Islands); (4) Sankhadvipa and Kumudadvipa (? Siam and Cambodia or New Guinea); (5) Kusadvipa (Cocos Islands); and (6) Varahadvipa (? Philippine or Australia). Of these Angadvipa was full of Mleccha³ and other populations, had a hill called the Cakra Mountain which contained numerous Naga abodes, and was regarded to be in the middle or heart of the Naga countries. The high beautiful Malayadvipa, the land of gold and silver mines and of sandal forests, inhabited by many kinds of Mlecchas, had the

¹The passage is quoted *verbatim* and without changing the spelling of the geographic names used. R.B.

²Which makes one think of the Negritos. R.B.

³Uncivilised people.

Mahamalaya alias Mandāra mountains which had the hermitage of Sage Agasti and of many Siddhas. The Sankhadvipa also was inhabited by many kinds of Mlecchas and contained the palace of a Naga King Sankha-Mukha. The Kumudadvipa was inhabited by many pious people. In the Varaha island lived various tribes of Mlecchas and other nationalities. It was highly prosperous, and contained extensive rice-fields and a beautiful hill called the Varaha from which flowed the river Varahi. The people here were worshippers of the Varaha incarnation of Visnu ”.

Vader (132), p. 348) gives some further information. He points out that the Vayu Purana describes the six dvipas round about Jambu Dvipa as (1) Anga Dvipa (2) Yava Dvipa (3) Malaya Dvipa (4) Sankha Dvipa (5) Kusa Dvipa and (6) Varaha Dvipa. He then proceeds “ the third in the above list *viz*: Malaya Dvipa is further described in verses 20-30 of (Chapter 48 of the Vayu Purana). It is said about this island that there are many gold mines there and the population consists of several classes of Mlecchas. There is a great mountain named Malaya containing silver mines. Heavenly bliss is obtained on the mountain on every Parva or Amavasya day. The famous Trikuta mountain is also situated on this island. The mountain is very extensive and has several very beautiful valleys and summits. The great city called Lanka is founded on one of the slopes of this mountain. Its length is hundred yojanas while its breadth is 30 yojanas. To the east of this island lies a great Siva temple in a holy place called Gokarna ”.

Tripathi (130, IX, pp. 466, 467) says that the Nisada Mlecchas in India are described in the Puranas as being of charcoal colour, red eyes, black or curly hair and that they were a short-statured but very strong people. From the very beginning they were treated as a degraded race owing to their peculiar constitution and conduct. From their description he says that they appear to correspond with the present day ‘ Dravidian type ’ of the Indian ethnic divisions as given in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*; and he points out that the red quality of the eyes is a marked characteristic.

At p. 468 he says that the Puranas also make mention of numerous Mleccha tribes living in Indonesia and “it is just possible that during the age of Asura supremacy when the great Indian empire extended far outside (or when India proper came under the subjugation of the Asuras of the now-submerged Patala continent) free maritime intercourse and the then political situation had led several migrations of these Mleccha people to and from India, resulting in their manners, customs, language and religion being greatly influenced by the outside contact ”.

It seems to us that the ancient Indians differentiated the people of Further India into two main generalisations, Mlecchas and Nagas, and we think that the former referred to the ancient

black element in the population which resembled the Negritos, Melanesians and Australians of to-day, while the latter referred to that part of the population which may be termed Indonesian. Jayaswal is clearly right in thinking that the Nagas of Further India were among its pre-Hindu inhabitants since tradition everywhere proves that; but the Puranas seem clearly in their mention of the Mlecchas to show that the Nagas were not the only pre-Hindu ethnic element. If our view is right, the Puranas accord with the evidence and with what the Chinese noted since the latter, as we shall see, clearly remarked the two main ethnic generalisations, calling the Indonesian type *Kunlun*¹ and stating the physical peculiarities of the other though not giving it any particular name.

The Puranas and Epics also refer to another people called Raksasas who were, we suggest, the cannibalistic part of the population called *Lo-cha*² by the Chinese and whose existence, as we shall see, was noted by Ptolemy. Ravana was the great Raksasa king.

Of the six dvipas named above Malaya-dvipa and Yava-dvipa possess the greatest interest to us: but before considering them we may note as to the other dvipas that Jayaswal takes Anga-dvipa to be Champa (109, p. 244) and he also says (*ibid*: p. 250) that "the Vayu Purana gives a full description of Simhapura, a capital in Further India, evidently in Malaya" but unfortunately does not elaborate this statement in any way or say in which dvipa the Purana places Simhapura. Ramachandra Dikshitar (127, pp. 30-31) follows Gerini's identifications and states Kusa-dvipa to be the Sunda Archipelago, Varaha-dvipa possibly the Hog Island near the west coast of Sumatra, Anga-dvipa the Andaman Islands, Sankha-dvipa possibly Tongking and Che-Kiang. But the reader who examines Gerini will see that his identifications turn upon etymological reasoning, which we suggest to be largely unsafe.

And now we will consider the identification of Malayadvipa. Ramachandra Dikshitar (127 p. 30) says that it is "identified with the modern Sumatra where the chief mountain bears the name Malaya". Tripathi, as we have seen, doubtfully suggested the Malay Peninsula and Gerini seems to have considered it to be a later term applied to the Peninsula (46, p. 81) and that the Puranic Salmali-dvipa was the Peninsula.⁴

¹崑崙.

²崑崙.

³刹羅; the Chinese equivalent of Raksha.

⁴In which case the reader should recollect what we wrote in this Journal vol. xiv, pt. 3, at p. 53, the last paragraph. R.B.

We suggest that there is evidence to prove that Malaya-dvipa was Sumatra; or possibly Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula taken together as a general district.

As we have seen, the Vayu Purana places a city of Lanka (Lankapuri or Lankapura) in Malaya-dvipa; and as is well-known the name Lanka has very strong connection in Malay tradition with Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.

Now the Ramayana tells us that Lanka was the city of Ravana, King of the demon Raksasas, who carried off Sita the wife of Rama, and it is a vexed question where this Lanka of the Ramayana should be situated. Many Oriental scholars assert bluntly that Ravana's Lanka is Ceylon because it is so stated in the Mahavamsa¹, the most ancient history of Ceylon, which dates from the fifth century A.D. Other scholars place it elsewhere and in 1926 Vader contributed his well-known article (132) in which he re-examined the whole question. His theory as summarized by himself is as follows:—"Lankā was the capital of the big island known as Raksasa Dvipa situated in the midst of the southern ocean. This Lanka was situated on the equator or the middle part of the earth. The distance between the Southern extremity of India and the Raksasa Dvipa or Lanka was a hundred Yojanas i.e. about 700 miles". He then collects evidence to show that Ceylon and Lanka were not the same nor was the Lanka city situated in Ceylon. He produces references showing the use of the names Simhala and Lanka in the same passage but differentiating between them clearly. He then cites the passage from the Vayu Purana concerning Malaya-dvipa which we have already quoted, and goes on to show that the great astronomer Bhaskaracarya, who was born in 1115 A.D., stated that Lanka was on or about the equator. He also cites the Ramayana as showing that Ravana's Lanka could not have been Ceylon. His conclusion, worked upon Bhaskaracarya's statements as to latitude and longitude and the distance of 100 yojanas, is that the Maldive Islands were the Raksasa-dvipa. Vader shows that the ancient name for Ceylon was Tamra-dvipa or Tamraparni, which Ptolemy called Taprobane, and that it was afterwards called Simhala-dvipa. He concludes with this interesting passage—"Even the geologists maintain that before the 4th millennium B.C. there existed a big continent in the Indian Ocean. Its extent lay from the south of India. In course of time this big continent became immersed in the waters and what portions we have now such as Malaya Dvipa, Seychelles, Rodrigues, Chagos, Mauritius, Madagascar, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Ascension, Falkland, Graham, West Antarctica, etc. are nothing but the mountain tops or plateaus of the old big continent. The Malaya Dvipa or Maldives is the site of the Raksasa Dvipa of Ravana with its capital Lanka-Puri."

¹See Geiger's Translation, 1934, Ch. VII, xxxi.

In 1928 Ramadas (133) subjected Vader's article to criticism. He considered that "his arguments, supported by extracts from Sanskrit literature, to show that Lanka was quite distinct from Ceylon, are otherwise convincing, but do not prove what he says concerning its location". Later he writes that Vader "asserts that this Malaya Dvipa is the present Maldives in the Indian Ocean. But what about the Siva Temple to the east of these Maldives? Is the mountain there called Malaya? Are there any gold and silver mines in them?" Ramadas looked to the Malaya mountains in India which lie to the west of Orissa and he says that the mountains of Ganjam and Vizagapatam are well-known by that name. Malai, Ramadas reminds us, means a hill in the Dravidian languages; and he says that the Eastern Ghats, north of the Godavari Valley are called the Malaya mountains. Trikuta (which in Sanskrit means three-peaked) is, he says, the biggest mountain in the present Malaya hills. Working thus on etymological lines Ramadas concludes that "Lanka was the name of the highland from which the two rivers, the Narmada and the Mahanadi, rise, and it was the chief abode of Ravana, the King of the Rakshsas of the time of Rama of the Ikshvaku family of North Kosala". He has, however, to admit that he can point to no geological evidence to show that any sea ever existed round it and the Ramayana clearly indicates that this was the case with Lanka. Apart from that, Ramadas seems to base his arguments upon the proposition that there can only be one place called by the same name.

We venture the following possible explanation. The original story of Rama, Ravana and Lanka is a very ancient one indeed, and there is no hope, in our opinion, of ever ascertaining the site of the original Lanka. But we know of the ancient Indian habit of carrying their celebrated names to different localities. We have already commented upon this habit² which is well-known and has been remarked by many scholars. What more natural than that Ceylon or Simhala should have received the name of Lanka? This is recorded in the fifth century A.D., centuries after the first story of Lanka. And what more natural than that there should also have been another Lanka in Gupta times, from which chapter 48 of the Vayu Purana appears to date? What again is more natural than that the Kalingas from ancient Orissa should have carried the name Malaya with them and applied it to a place or places distinguished by mountain ranges?

The name Malaya-dvipa does not occur in the older parts of the Puranas at all; it appears to have come into use after the beginning of our era. We will now show what is the evidence connecting the name Lanka with Sumatra.

¹The Greeks also knew Ceylon as Palaesimunda from another ancient Indian name for it, Parasamudra. R.B.

²See this Journal vol. xiv, pt. 3, pp. 55-6.

Marsden (134, pp. xxiv-xxv) wrote in 1812 that "much fallacious inference appears to have been drawn from the resemblance of the sanskrit term *Malaya* to the name of the people of whom we are speaking, which has induced some persons, whose authority carries with it great weight, to consider the *Malaya* dwipa as denoting the Malay peninsula". He then goes on to say that it was exclusively the mountainous region in the southern part of the peninsula of India and refers to the Tamil names for it, all of which are "derivatives from the word *male*, signifying 'a mountain'." That puts squarely in issue the question why the Malays are so-called; why do we find *Malayu* as a name in the Peninsula and in Sumatra? The answer, in our opinion, can only be that the ancient Indians brought it like so many other names from their own country. As a sanskrit word *Malaya* is the name for the Western Ghats which abound in sandal trees and so the name is connected with sandal wood, the sandal tree and sandal ointment; but whether it is the mountain which gave its name to the tree or the tree to the mountain we do not know. Wilkinson in his Dictionary makes no suggestion as to the origin of the name Malay; and, unless it was imported as one would expect by the ancient Indians, there is no explanation for it¹.

If the reader will now turn to Marsden's History of Sumatra (97, pp. 338-340) he will find two curious Menangkabau documents quoted *in extenso*, a warrant and a letter. The three seals on the warrant are curious; they are those of the eldest brother, the Sultan of Rum, the second brother, the Sultan of China, and the youngest brother, the Sultan of Menangkabau, whose warrant it was. The first is called Maharaja Alif, the second Maharaja Dampang or Dipang and the last Maharaja Dirja or Durja, which obviously is Maharaja Diraja. The reader will remember what we have already written² concerning these three brothers, though we have not as yet explained them. There was an ancient notion about four emperors, the 'sons of heaven', of China, India, the Roman Empire (Rum) and the Yue Chi. Professor Pelliot has illuminated it in a most interesting essay (135) and it has also been considered recently by Professor Przyluski (136); to those two essays the reader is referred as giving the explanation for the three seals on the Menangkabau documents. The Yue Chi have dropped out in the southern seas; coming from the far north they were meaningless in Malaysia. The Sultan of Menangkabau substitutes himself for the emperor of India as doubtless did the ancient Maharajas whose seat was at Palembang and of whom he claimed to be the dynastic descendant.

In the Menangkabau warrant there are *inter alia* the following

¹Since writing the above Dr. R. C. Majumdar has dealt with the question in an important article *The Malay*, 1936, Vol. III J. G. I. S. pp. 86-96, and to it the reader is recommended. This article makes it unnecessary for me to change what I had written. R.B.

²See this Journal, Vol. XIV, pt. 3, pp. 43-44.

claims¹ by the Sultan who traces his dynasty from the Kings of Palembang, viz:—that he is a descendant of Raja Iskandar Zu'lkarnaini; the possessor of the wood *kamat*; of the lance *lambing lambura*; of the gold-mine named *Kudarat-Kudarat* which yields gold of twelve carats, and of the gold named *jatijati* which snaps the *dalik* wood; of the sword named *churak-si-mandang-giri*, which received one hundred and ninety² gaps in conflict with the fiend *Si Katimuno*, whom it slew; of the mountain *Siguntang-guntang*, which divides Palembang and Jambi, and of the Burning Mountain."

In the letter the following further things should be noticed. It says that "when the world was habitable God gave him a bird called *Hocinet*, that had the gift of speech; this he sent down on earth, to look out for a spot where he might establish an inheritance, and the first place he alighted upon was the fertile island of *Lankapura*, situated between Palembang and Jambi, and from thence sprang the famous kingdom of *Manancabow*, which will be renowned and mighty until the Judgment Day". *Hocinet* here is obviously the Garuda of the Kedah Annals. In dealing with Menangkabau traditional history Marsden (97, p. 332) wrote that it deduced its origin from two brothers who landed at "Palembang or at a small island near it, named *Lankapura*" after which they proceeded to the mountain named *Siguntang-guntang*. Marsden in these passages has evidently taken *pulau* as 'island' but, as we have seen, it had a wider meaning in Sumatra; so may it not be that the legend was that the two brothers landed on a river-bank where *Lanka-pura*, the town, came to be? It does not matter at all, however, and we have made the citations merely to show, as is well-known, that tradition in this part of Sumatra places there a *Lankapura*, or city of Lanka.

There was every reason for the ancient Indians connecting the name of Lanka with Sumatra, since in that island even to this day the last vestiges of a previous cannibalism still remain, and, as we shall note later, there is traditional evidence for cannibalism in early times in the north of the Malay Peninsula, where the name Lanka is very strong in tradition and recorded evidence.

Taking the rest of the statements in the Vayu Purana as to Malaya-dvipa, they all apply well to Sumatra. It was noted for its gold and silver; in it was a Trikuta mountain and Mahameru as we saw when dealing with the *Sejarah Melayu*; there are very beautiful valleys and summits on its mountain range, indeed notoriously so; it is, as we shall see in the next paragraph, closely connected with the sage Agastya; there was a pre-hindu city near its Mahameru mountain as we have already seen; and there is

¹We have followed Marsden's spelling rather than modernize it. R.B.

²Why this number? Sir Richard Winstedt has already propounded this question but there seems to be no answer as yet. R.B.

every reason to think that in the ancient state of Kedah, east of Sumatra, there may well have been a great Siva Temple. If not in Kedah, then certainly somewhere east of Sumatra either on the Indo-Chinese or the Malay Peninsula. At the present Mi-son in particular there was a very celebrated temple of Siva as we shall note in the next part of this essay.

The statements about Agastya seem, however, to clinch the matter. Ramachandra Dikshitar (127, pp. 29-30) writes that "among India's sages and seers, Agastya is supposed to have been the L'Indoisateur. From his original abode in Benares, the legends say, he travelled to the far south, made the forest regions of the Dekhan and South India habitable, and established his southern home at the Podyal hills, a name familiar to the students of Sangam literature. Tradition affirms that this enthusiastic adventurer did not rest content with the cultural conquest of the Daksinapatha. He crossed the seas to the Indian Archipelago and pursued his mission with such zeal and zest that the cult of Agastya took deep root in the isles of Sumatra, Java and Bali. Scholars who have examined the inscriptions and studied the sculptures with the meticulous attention which they deserve, have proved to demonstration that the worship of Agastya is an established fact in these islands.

" Tradition handed down by the Puranas and the Itihasas in general and Tamil literary works in particular with regard to Agastya's mission and conquest is corroborated by epigraphic and sculptural evidence not only in South India but in the islands of the Indian Archipelago. Among other Puranas the *Skanda Mahapurana* and the *Agnipurana* furnish us with details as to the mode of worship of Agastesvara. Confining ourselves to the date furnished by the *Vayu Purana* we find that Agastya who is celebrated by *Agastya Kundam* in Benares and *Agastya padam* in Gaya and even to this day, visited a number of islands in the Indian ocean. A whole chapter (ch. 48) entitled *Bhuvanavinyasa* is devoted to an account of what the Purana calls six *anudvipas*. The geography seems to tally with our knowledge of these places ". He then goes on to the consideration of the six *dvipas* with which we have already dealt. For the Agastya cult in Malaysia reference may also be made to Chatterji (107, p. 80), Coomaraswamy (137, p. 206) and Chhabra (138, pp. 60-61).¹ It seems that the Sailendra kings were strong supporters of the Agastya cult during the so-called Sailendra period in Java ; the connection of these kings with Sumatra will be considered at the proper chronological period of this essay.

And now we come to the question of Yava-dvipa, concerning which Wilkinson has recently written in this Journal (139, pp. 1-3)

¹See also Professor Nilakanta Sastri, *Agastya*, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal etc., 1936, vol: 76, No. 4, pp. 471-545; an important and valuable article R.B.

in very general terms. One of the principal difficulties in connection with the puranas is their textual corruption. We have seen that in the passages quoted from the Vayu Purana there is a question of either Yama or Yava dvipa; Jayaswal writes it Ya(v)a dvipa; and Ramachandra Dikshitar gives it as Yama dvipa with no alternative. In a footnote to the Appendix hereto Professor Nilakanta Sastri considers that Yama dvipa should be Yava dvipa.

The great Dutch scholar Dr. Vogel evidently considers that the puranas make no mention of Java for he has written (112, p.15) that "there is no account whatever of those mercantile and missionary relations between India and Java which have left such lasting traces in the culture of that island. In the whole gigantic literature of ancient India, both Sanskrit and Pali, there is but a single mention of Java, which occurs in the Fourth Canto of the Ramayana". Here he clearly takes Yava-dvipa in the Ramayana to be the present isle of Java; but the question is a vexed one. For instance, Professor Coomaraswamy in his great book on Indian art (137, p. 198) writes that "Sumatra appears to have received Indian colonists at a very early date, probably well before the beginning of the Christian era. The Land of Gold (and this name is really applicable to Sumatra, and not to Java) is referred to already in the *Jatakas* and the *Ramayana* as Suvarna-dvipa and Suvarna-bhumi, and when the same text speaks of *Yavadvipa suvarnakaramandita*, it is Sumatra that is to be understood. Sumatra is the Zabadiion of Ptolemy, the Zabag and Zabej of later Arabic writers". In identifying the Yava-dvipa of the Ramayana with Sumatra Professor Coomaraswamy is in accord with that great French scholar, the late Gabriel Ferrand (140, pp. 146-150).

There was a time when any phonetic equivalent of Java was attributed solely to the present island of Java but the fashion to-day is to call Yava-dvipa Java-Sumatra which seems to dodge the question. Hirananda Shastri (141, p. 312) writes that "as M. Duiroselle kindly tells me, the consensus of opinion, arrived at by scholars like Barth and Kern, is that Suvarna-dvipa and Yava-dvipa are the same, that is Java-Sumatra". The same opinion was held by Chavannes (142, p. 193) and by Pelliot (129, p. 320) who says that the name of Java has also been applied to the Malay Peninsula.

Ferrand (140, pp. 186-187) quotes Kern¹ as saying that according to the dominant conception Suvarna-dvipa and Yava-dvipa were confused one with another; in the proper sense the former is equivalent to Sumatra and the latter to Java; Sumatra (or a part of it) and Java have been considered as one perhaps because the two isles formed part of a political grouping.

¹*Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. V, p. 314.

Let us see what evidence there is as to Yava-dvipa prior to the Vayu Purana which we take to date from Gupta times.

The *Hou Han Shu* (compiled in the fifth century A.D.) records that an embassy was sent to China in 132 A.D. from a place called Ye-tiao,¹ which had a king whose Chinese name is considered by French linguists to represent Devavarman (see 86; 143; 144 xiv, p. 14; 145, 2, p. 155) though Pelliot does not agree as to that transliteration of the name (146, p. 251, n.l.). The old pronunciation of Ye-tiao is Yap-div in which Pelliot has recognized the name Yava-dvipa but in so identifying it he guards against saying whether it is Java or Sumatra, leaving the question open, save that he considers it to be the same as Ptolemy's Iabadiou (129, p. 258, n. 2). This Ye-tiao may have been connected with a Burning Mountain or Volcano (see 147 and 143); and, if this is so, Dempo and the claim of the Sultan of Menangkabau to be the possessor of the Burning Mountain are worth remembering, though, of course, the southern seas were full of volcanic islands.

Next we have Ptolemy's Iabadiou which as we have already seen is the phonetic equivalent of the prakrit form of Yava-dvipa. Unless Iabadiou was Sumatra, Ptolemy makes no mention of that great island. Berthelot (53, p. 406) is very certain that Iabadiou is the Java of to-day but he has to correct the longitude and latitude and the route; and he does not seem to think it extraordinary that, if he is correct, Sumatra should have been omitted. He gets over the difficulty by saying that "this great island was for long regarded as an assembly of several distinct islands", a proposition for which he gives no authority,² and in which it is almost impossible to believe if one is familiar with the Straits of Malacca.

We have already³ quoted in full Ptolemy's reference to Iabadiou and it will be remembered that he states the name to mean 'the Isle of Barley' showing that he was aware of the literal meaning of the sanskrit Yava-dvipa. Wilkinson (139, p. 1) says concerning Iabadiou that "written in Sanskrit it gives only the older form of the colloquial Prakrit *Iavadiou*, 'the land of millet', or, it may be, 'the land of grain'."

But *yava* in sanskrit primarily means 'barley' and *yavaka* is a cake made from barley; Macdonell does not give to *yava* the meaning of 'millet' or 'grain' at all. Is there any actual instance in the earliest Indian literature of *yava* meaning either 'millet' or 'grain'? Millet is a well known Indian grain and has its own proper sanskrit name *kangu*. There are dictionaries which attach

¹葉調.

²In all probability, however, he has in mind what Gerini says (46, footnote pp. 588-9). R.B.

³See this Journal, vol. XIV, pt. 3, p. 38.

to *yava* the meaning of millet but may that not be because a certain kind of grain that grows in Java got the name *yava* attached to it? This would seem to have been at a much later date than the early uses of the expression *Yava-dvipa*. The question poses itself 'why should the early Indians who were perfectly familiar with barley and millet have called an island *yava-dvipa*?' Not because barley grew there for, though fairly recent experiments have shown that barley will grow on the mountains of Java, its cultivation has never been taken up. In the opinion of Mr. S. M. Sharma, of Kuala Lumpur, who has been experimenting at Cameron Highlands, Pahang, barley cannot be successfully cultivated within 15° N. & S. of the equator except on high elevations.¹ Barley could never have been an extensive crop in Java; if it was ever grown there at all, since no trace of it remains and one cannot imagine an island being called after barley unless that grain was an outstanding characteristic of the island. The name, therefore, presents a difficulty to any one but a philologist. Groeneveldt (148, p. 132, n.) begs the question in a way that is very familiar to any close student of what linguists have had to say about ancient names for places in Malaysia:—"Yava Dvipa does not mean, as has been thoughtlessly said and repeated, *the country of the barley*, for the simple reason that barley could not grow there, but instead of barley we must read *millet*, of which there are different varieties indigenous in the island, many of them called by the generic name Java. It is not impossible that the first Hindus found this cereal used instead of rice, and that the latter was introduced by them." But surely that note carries little conviction. If the Indians found millet plentiful in the island and wanted to call it after that grain, then surely *Kangu-dvipa* would have been the name. Ptolemy writing in 150 A.D. *circa* says quite distinctly 'island of barley' and that fact cannot be forgotten; it proves that at that time the Indians associated the name *Yava-dvipa* with their own familiar food 'barley' and not with their equally familiar food 'millet' unless we are to assume that Ptolemy himself had a knowledge of sanskrit and provided his own explanation. It is quite true that kinds of millet in Java came to be known as 'Java' or 'yava' and this possibly explains why some dictionaries give 'millet' as a meaning of the sanskrit *yava*. A Javanese legend is given by Gerini (46, pp. 591-2) thus:—"A king of Hastinapura (on the Ganges), by the name of Aji-Saka, was the first Indu adventurer who reached Java, then called *Nusa Mendang* and peopled by Raksasas. Finding there an edible kind of grain called *Yava* or *Java*, he changed the name of the island into *Nusa Java*. Having in due course subdued the cannibal Raksasas, he founded cities, taught the people to write, and established the Saka era, so called after him, in A.D. 78". This attempt to explain the name Java is of a type very familiar to readers of Malaysian literature. The writer

¹He tells me that it cannot be a commercial crop and that the grain will not harden. R.B.

asked the assistance of Dr. Chhabra with regard to Yava-dvipa and he makes a tentative suggestion that Yava-dvipa may possibly be explained as the 'barley-shaped island'. He points out that Jambu-dvipa and Amra-dvipa, meaning 'Rose-apple island' and 'Mango island', are so termed from the shapes of the fruits and not from the fruits themselves. Gerini suggested that Yava was really an ethnic name (46, pp. 131, 150, 460-6) and says that Yavana was the name of the Mon Annam race. Jayaswal (109, pp. 151-3) points out that in the Puranas there are yavanas who should be *yaunas* and he says (at p. 153) that "the Kushans bore the royal title *Yauv* or *Yauva* and the Kushans are placed in the Puranas as the Tukhara-Murundas and Sakas. The Bhagavata shortly after (XII, iii, 14) actually used the form Yauna". The Saka era¹ was used throughout Further India in early times; why? Is it possible that originally Yava-dvipa was Yavana-dvipa or Yauva-dvipa? Dr. Chhabra writes that he thinks not.

There we must leave the question of the derivation of the name Yava-dvipa and return to the question of its location.

We have already shown how the Bombay recension of the Ramayana describes Yava-dvipa as being the isle of gold and silver, adorned with mines of gold and embellished with seven kingdoms, while the Bengal recension speaks of 'the isle of Jala, embellished with fruits and sweet things, and also Suvarna-Rupyaka and the isle of Gana' etc. The seven Kingdoms in the Bombay recension may have been a mistake for 'seven jewels', an expression that frequently occurs in Buddhist texts; so Sylvain Lévi suggests (39, p. 81). It will be noticed that in the Bombay recension Yava-dvipa is the isle of gold and silver, whereas in the Bengal *Suvarna rupyaka* (i.e. Gold and silver) is divorced from the isle of Jala, which Lévi thinks to be a textual corruption for Java. The Vayu Purana also states that Yama-dvipa was "full of mines" and that its main hill is a source of gold. It is generally considered that the present Java could never have had the attributes of gold and silver, and particularly gold, applied to it, though it is fair to say that one authority, P. Hovig, has stated that on the strength of geological observations there is good reason to assume that Java was, indeed, the Gold and Silver Island of the ancient records.² He seems to stand alone in this view. Sumatra, on the other hand, is, of course, and always has been a gold country. The question is discussed by Sylvain Lévi (39, pp. 148-150) and to his discussion the reader is referred. Przyluski (149, p. 92, 93) concludes that "we are not at liberty to affirm either with Kern that Yava is Java or with Ferrand that

¹For a recent article on the Saka era in Java see H. B. Sarkar's *Date of the Introduction of the Saka year in Java*, J.A.S.B. 1933, vol. xxix, No. 1, pp. 17-21. R.B.

²As quoted in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1928, p. 112, No. 547.

Yava is not Java but Sumatra. Probably for Ptolemy and for all the ancient geographers Yava is Java-Sumatra".

But with deference to a great scholar, why 'probably'? Actually the only one of these ancient geographers who gives us a clue to the situation of Yava-dvipa was Ptolemy since it seems clear that his Iabadiou was the Yava-dvipa of the Ramayana: but, as we shall see when we deal further with Ptolemy, his text agrees with Borneo rather than Java or Sumatra.

The fact is that, if philology is set aside and the available facts are faced squarely, the situation of the ancient *Yava* and its phonetic equivalents is a varying one. The philologists, however, have governed so long that this fact has become obscured. To them Iabadiou, Ye-po-ti, Tchou-po, Javaka, Savaka etc. all represent *Yava* and, therefore, must be correlated. At first they took them all for the present island of Java without question; then Kern uttered some caution as we have pointed out; and later Gerini, Ferrand and others, objecting that Java would not fit the facts as to gold and silver, set up exclusive claims for Sumatra; so the present fashion of Java-Sumatra for Yava-dvipa was introduced, leaving its phonetic equivalents, however, much as they originally were.

The matter is vital to the subject of this essay and will continually recur, since we have chosen to keep to the chronological order as far as is possible. The principles upon which we shall deal with it and other questions of location are that each time a place-name recurs it must first be faced afresh as though it had arisen for the first time, that because in one century a place name can be located in a certain spot it does not necessarily follow that the same place-name must be located in the same spot in another century, and finally that when a philological explanation does not fit with given facts or data philology must step aside and must never be allowed to govern.

Let us now return to the Kedah Annals. The *propositus* is Raja Marong Mahawangsa who "traced his lineage from the inferior gods. His father was descended from the genii, and his mother from the Devadeva or demigods. He was a great Raja amongst the many Rajas who had been assembled by the King on this occasion, and he moreover wore a diadem" (121 p. 3). That means that, though not of royal rank, the Raja was semi-royal. He had married "contrary to the wish of his parents, a girl whose father was a Girgassi Raja and whose mother was descended from the Raksasa" (ibid). This is important for the Girgassis inhabited the country where the Raja founded his settlement and the Annals tell us that the Rajah could speak Girgassi. As we have shown, the Raksasas were cannibals; and large in the Kedah tradition looms a Cannibal King whose cannibalism is explained as coming through his Girgassi descent which means,

we suggest, that there had been much sexual intermingling between the Girgassis and the Raksasas.

Who exactly were the Girgassis? What is the explanation of the name? The Annals tell us that the Girgassis were giants; therefore, they were a race of much higher stature than the other races known to Malaysians. They do not seem to fit into any picture that we get of races in Indo-China or the Malay Peninsula except a very extraordinary Chinese reference to the country of P'i-Kien whose king had a body 12 feet high and a head 3 feet. This reference occurs during the Liang period, 502-556 A.D., and we shall deal with it when we reach that date.

Ptolemy, unfortunately, was but little interested in ethnic details; yet he tells us a little about the inhabitants of Trans-Gangetic India. He says that the Besyngitai along the Sabarakos Gulf were cannibals; he mentions the Saesadai who were dwarfs and shaggy-haired with large faces and light skins; he mentions another tribe of cannibals called the Gamerai; and he says that below the region of Argyra, where were the majority of the silver mines, was situated Chryse, neighbouring on the Besyngitai, and that Chryse possessed very numerous gold mines, its inhabitants being pale-skinned, shaggy-haired, dwarfs, and flat-nosed. In the Malay Peninsula or north of it on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam he places the Leistai, or Pirates, whose country lies between the Perimoulikos Gulf and the Great Gulf, and he says that above them lay broken country full of tigers and elephants. The inhabitants of the Leistai country had the appearance of beasts and dwelt in caves; they had skins like that of the hippopotamus, so hard that arrows would not pierce them. In the islands round the Peninsula he mentions cannibals. Tantalizing glimpses but enough to help us in our understanding of the peninsula at the beginning of the Christian era and clearly falling into the general picture which present knowledge otherwise presents to us.

For that general picture the reader is recommended to the excellent publication *Indochine* issued under the direction of Professor Sylvain Lévi in connection with the Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris in 1931 and to the articles therein written by leading French savants (150). Professor Przyluski writes of the populations of Indo-China and upon his article in the main is based what immediately follows.

It would seem that at the beginning of neolithic times Indo-China was peopled by negritic elements principally Melanesian and very dolichocephalic. We may hypothecate that in the first phase of the peopling of the peninsula of Indo-China the inhabitants resembled the Negritos, Melanesians and Australians of to-day. With neolithic times an Indonesian element intrudes; these people were of fairer skin and dolichocephalic. Later the type becomes modified by a Mongol cross, caused by strong

Mongol invasions which seem to have begun with the age of metals and continued into historic times.

The ancient black element has almost disappeared on the Asiatic continent and only survives amongst the savages of the Malay Peninsula, says Przyluski, while the Indonesian type is still found almost pure among the Khas of Laos, the Mois along the Annamite chain and the Phnongs of Cambodia. There is, however, a negritic cross to be observed fairly frequently amongst the Annamites and Cambodians. Chinese annalists of the T'ang dynasty tell us that from Linyi (the Annam of to-day) towards the South the people have frizzy hair and black bodies which means that the earliest elements must have been numerous until the VIIth century A.D. at least.

Whence came the Indonesians? Kern basing himself upon linguistic reasoning considered that they had spread from the Asiatic continent towards the Sunda islands. This hypothesis seems confirmed by modern study, archaeological and ethnical, and remains still the most probable one.

Taking the waves of civilisation they may be stated thus.. A palaeolithic culture used by the earliest dark-skinned inhabitants came into contact with a neolithic culture introduced by sea-faring invaders of clear skin and Indonesian type. The palaeolithic industry was not abruptly replaced but gradually improved by a method of polishing. One does not ever imagine any abrupt replacement of one culture by another but rather a gradual and slow replacement resulting finally in complete supersession. Next came the introduction of metals, the earliest being bronze implements of a simple fragile type and with little variation in form. Later at a period that bordered upon historic times came larger bronze objects, more robust and more perfect, with geometric decoration and even with complicated compositions comprising animal and human forms. Metals would seem to have been introduced from the north. The Museum at Hanoi contains a large number of bronze drums many of which depict human figures and illustrate the type of man and type of life then prevalent. It would seem as though the bronze industry had penetrated into Indo-China with the armies of the Han dynasties. The human images depicted on bronzes found in Tongking suggest similarities with the manners and religious customs of the Indonesians, notably with the Dyaks of Borneo. It is noticeable in this connection that the Khas, Mois and Phnongs resemble very much the Battaks of Sumatra and the Dyaks of Borneo.

During the second or later bronze¹ age Indo-China entered the orbit of a maritime civilisation that comprised the whole

¹Mr. Linehan notes as to this "The mines at Sungei Lembing must have been worked during the Bronze Age to provide a constituent of bronzetint. It appears that the chronological order in which metals were mined in Malaya was—gold, tin, iron. It is surprising what few bronze objects compared with neolithic and iron-age finds have yet been discovered in Malaya". R.B.

of south-eastern Asia and Indonesia, and that reached as far in one direction as Japan and in the other as Madagascar. Though imperfectly attested so far, this maritime civilisation is sufficiently characterised by institutions and a mythology capable of statement. The mythology rests upon a cosmological dualism where mountain and sea oppose each other, the winged people against the water people, the men of the heights against those of the coasts. Among the gods, the Divine Bird opposes the Divine Fish. The social organisation was similarly based upon a dualism; each tribe divided into two factions—mountaineers and coast people—who drew their subsistence from the mountains or the sea. The chiefs and witch doctors of the former descend from the Divine Bird and have command over fire, lightning and thunder. The chiefs and witch doctors of the latter descend from the Divine Fish or Serpent and command the waters of the rivers and of the rains.

One of the essential elements of this civilisation is the importance of the female element. The Chinese voyagers in the South Seas noted with surprise that in these regions the woman chose the man. The matriarchal system seems to have been universal until the influence of the Indian and Chinese civilisations, of which male ascendancy was one of the pivots, superseded or counter-balanced it.

The whole of the evidence enables Przyluski to lay down a general law by which the distribution of peoples in Indo-China can be explained. During thousands of years men were pushed by successive waves from the interior of Eastern Asia towards the peninsula of Indo-China. Another but less important push came from the opposite direction; sea-faring people from the seas of the south made frequent irruptions on the coasts of the peninsula and succeeded in stretching their domination over groups in the interior. Naturally the invaders sought first to seize the fertile land; and, doing so, they either overwhelmed the inhabitants or pushed them back. Thus came about the ethnic mixtures and movements that began in the earliest times and went on during the historic period. The alluvial lands were the richest, the soil getting less fertile along the heights; so it resulted that the populations graduated according to altitude; almost everywhere, the contrast is very strong between the inhabitants of the high and the low regions. The least civilised are to be found in the highest lands, the most civilised along the alluvial lands.

Such, very briefly and with much omission of detail, is the picture painted by French science of ancient Indo-China and we suggest that when knowledge of the Malay Peninsula has increased the picture painted of it will be precisely the same. Enough, however, is known already to make that suggestion a feasible one.

Is it not possible that the curious story of the killing of Saktimuna by Sang Sapurba (see 104) is really an echo of the

ancient opposition between the Divine Bird and the Divine Serpent, the men of the heights and the men of the coasts? Sang Sapurba is of the race of the king who appeared on the mountain of Seguntang, by slaying Saktimuna he frees Sumatra from its coils; and is this not an allegorical statement that the Kings of the Mountain who came from the mainland conquered the people of the coast and river and substituted themselves as rulers? Traditions undergo vicissitudes but they have a habit of living and being brought on to changed conditions, of being used long after their true origin and their true nature are forgotten.

Ptolemy's reference to the cannibal Besyngitai is very interesting in view of what the Kedah Annals have to say about the Girgassis and the Cannibal King Raja Bersiong, the tusked raja, whose cannibalism was inherited through his mother a Girgassi woman. These Girgassis seem to have been matriarchal since the Annals say that they had women Chieftainesses. They were known to the Raja of Kalangi¹, as the Annals call him, and they made superb vases or jars of a great size, one of which was given by the Raja of Kalangi to Mahawangsa's envoys (121, p. 163). It is fair, we think, to say that the Girgassi country extended from the Raja of Kalangi's territory down to the Kedah country, in which case it corresponded exactly with Ptolemy's Besyngitai. For what it is worth, if anything, it may be noted that Annandale and Robinson have recorded² that the *Orang Laut Kappir*, whose original home was said by themselves to have been the large island of Langkawi lying off the coast of Kedah, claimed to be the same people as the *Orang Besing* who, they said, occupied the small islands off the extreme south of Tenasserim. These *Besing* spoke a language of their own, not Malay, and were said by the *sum-sams* (i.e. Indo-Chinese or Siamese Malays) to be jungle folk as well as seamen. It may be perfectly true that the story of Raja Bersiong resembles one in the Jatakas as Dr. Blagden has pointed out (124) but we think that the facts to which we have referred in this paragraph cannot be ignored.

We do not know what is the derivation of the name Girgassi nor have we seen any explanation for it though Wilkinson suggests with a query that it was Sanskrit. He says that the girgassi is a tusked man-eating ogre and, again, a forest ogre, described (Perch. Mal. 48) as a cannibal giant. He refers to the folk-lore concerning the girgassi and says that "these ogres (*bota*, *gergassi*, *raksasa*) are not evil spirits in the true sense but hate inspired personifications of aboriginal enemies whom the Aryans conquered". Indian scholars can very possibly help us.

Raja Marong Mahawangsa was sent with a considerable fleet by the Raja of Rum to negotiate a marriage between that potentate's son (who accompanied the expedition) and the daughter of the Emperor of China. Was that possible?

¹Later we shall show that this Kalangi was Lower Burma. R.B.

²*Fasciculi Malayenses*, Part 1, 1903, p. 65.

Rum, of course, here means the Roman Orient, to which the Chinese gave the name of Ta Chin or Ta T'sin¹; and this seems a good place to introduce the Chinese into the narrative of our essay.

The Chinese penetration of the south is recorded by their historians. Thus, for instance, in the Liang Dynasty history as translated by Groeneveldt (148, p. 128) it is stated that "the countries of the southern ocean are, generally speaking, situated at the south-west of the Giau-chi, and on the islands of the ocean". "In the period Yuan-ting of the Han dynasty (116-110 B.C.) admiral Lu-po-teh was sent to open the south; he founded the district Jih-nan and since that time the countries beyond its borders have all come to court and presented tribute. Afterwards, during the reign of the emperor Hsüan of the Han dynasty (73-49 B.C.) the Romans and Indians have sent envoys and presented tribute through the same way. In the time of Sun-Ch'üan of the house of Wu (222-251) two functionaries, called Chu-ying and K'ang-tai were ordered to go to the south; they went to, or heard from, a hundred and more countries, and made an account of them".

What we have now to say about Chinese history is based in the main upon the recent edition of Latourette's excellent work (151) to which we refer the reader.² We shall also follow his spelling of Chinese names as far as he gives them. There is always great trouble in giving Chinese names since there are so many ways of spelling them. In general where we quote French authors we shall follow the French spelling but it will not be able to make any hard and fast rules; so the reader must make for himself such mental changes as he finds to be necessary.

The political boundaries of China changed in different periods and we would refer the reader to the maps in Dr. Pott's book (152) as the handiest conspectus of these changes. Like the oldest civilisations of Egypt and Babylonia and the early one in north-west India, that of China first emerges in the dim light of prehistory in a fertile river valley, that of the Yellow River; and the beginnings of her history are naturally to be found in her myths and legends. History proper is reached with the Ch'in and Han dynasties, covering the period 221 B.C. to 220 A.D. The Han dynasty is divided into two periods, the earlier or Western which reached its apex in the reign of Wu Ti (usually called Han Wu Ti to distinguish him from others of that name) who came to the throne in 140 B.C. and reigned until 87 B.C., and the later or Eastern Han Dynasty.

The great emperor Shin Huang Ti (221-209 B.C.) unified China as it then was and "proceeded to extend his boundaries into non-Chinese territory. Much of the coast from the present

¹大秦.

See also *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, by H. Cordier, 4 vols. 1920.

Chekiang south into what is now Indo-China was occupied by peoples called the Yüeh, presumably related to the present Annamites. They were partially civilized, tattooing their bodies, using metals, and displaying skill as navigators. They possessed fertile and well-cultivated lands. In B.C. 211 Shih Huang Ti sent five large armies to annex the region. The more northerly territories—those in the present Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung beyond Canton—were quickly overrun. It was not until about B.C. 214, however, that the more southerly regions were conquered. By the end of that year the Ch'in boundaries seem to have been extended into the delta of the Red River and along the coastal plain beyond the site of the present Hue" (151, i, p. 97).

The principal kingdom of the Yuehs was Nan-Yueh in the north-west of the Tongking of to-day; its inhabitants, says Leclère¹, were of Mon stock but perhaps already at the period of the Chinese conquest under the domination of the Annamites—Giau-chi, Kiao-chi or Kiao-tche,² as the Chinese called them—who had come south from the Yangtze (153, p. 14). In 221 B.C. Nan-Yueh was annexed to China; and about 218-214 B.C. the territory called Tongking to-day was annexed. In 214 B.C. the country was organized into a province called Siang. At the end of the Ch'in dynasty the Chinese general who was then governor declared his independence and formed the kingdom of Nan Yueh with its capital at what is Canton to-day and comprising much of the present Kwangsi and Kwangtung with much of the coast of Indo-China down to Cap Varella. The King of Nan Yueh conquered the Chinese province of Siang and divided it into two provinces—Giau-chi or Kiao-tche (Tongking) and Kieou-tchen (the region of Than Hoa and the Chinese territory in Annam)—with capitals respectively at the Hanoi and Than-hoa of to-day. In 196 B.C. the Han emperor officially recognized the kingdom of Nan Yueh and its king agreed to rule as a vassal king but in 183 B.C. he revolted and assumed the title of Emperor of Nan Yueh.

Under the Han emperor Wu Ti, Nan Yueh was re-conquered by the Chinese in 108 B.C. and its territories were added to the Han domains, so that under the Hans China was extended on the south to include much of what are now Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hainan, the north-eastern section of French Indo-China, Kweichow and Yunnan. Three commanderies were created in the south, viz:—Giau-chi or Kiao-tche, Kieou-tchen and Je-nan or Jih-nan.³ The first comprised the Tongking of to-day; the second, Than-hoa, Nghe-an, Ha-tinh and as far as Porte d'Annam; the third, Quang-binh from Porte d'Annam,

¹His book must be used with the utmost caution, see *critique* by Coedès in B.E.F.E.O., 1914, vol. xiv, pp. 47-54; it is included in the bibliography to this essay since it summarizes much useful matter. R.B.

²交趾.
³日南.

Quang-tri, Thu'a-thien, and down to Cap Varella. Thus ancient Je-nan included that part of modern Annam which lies between Porte d'Annam and Cap Varella ; it was divided into five districts, the two southern-most having their headquarters at Siang-lin and Si-kuan.

Tongking remained a Chinese province from 108 B.C. to 968 A.D., save during the periods 544-602 A.D. and 939-965 A.D.

And here let us remark that it is a tragedy of ancient history and geography that to make it intelligible one must express it in modern geographical terms which at once carry ethnic and political suggestions to the sub-conscious mind of the reader ; but we must ask him to bear in mind always that when we express an ancient place by a modern name, we point purely and simply to that which is only geographic.

By the year 132 A.D. the coastal regions in north-eastern Annam were already a terminal point for navigation from the South Seas as the Chinese called Malaysia and in this year we have mention of the kingdom of Ye-tiao already mentioned.

It is perfectly clear from Ptolemy's Geography that by the end of the first century A.D. the route down the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, the Gulf of Martaban, the Straits of Malacca, then up the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, round the Gulf of Siam and up the coast of Indo-China to a port which he calls Kattigara was well-known and was dotted with important entrepôts and ports of call, while inland there were also places of importance.

China's first communication with India would seem to have been by land from the south-east of Yunnan. Her first indisputable relations with southern and western Asia *via* Burma start about the beginning of the second century A.D. when there reigned in the country of Chan (*i.e.* Shan) a King recorded by the Chinese as named Yong-Yieou-tiao who had received an Imperial investiture in 97 A.D. but there is also evidence that in the second century B.C. there were relations between India and China *via* Burma (129, pp. 142-143).

The Chinese called the eastern part of the Roman Empire Ta Ch'in or Ta Ts'in.¹ With the Mediterranean world they had little, if any, direct contact in the time of the Hans. "Traders from the west were regularly reaching India. When, about the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., they learned to take advantage of the monsoon to make the voyage across the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea, the commerce became extensive and important and was to continue so for many centuries. Few travellers from the Mediterranean world seem to have gone beyond India and Ceylon, however, although the Romans and Greeks

¹For their relations generally see *China and the Roman Orient*, by F. Hirth, 1885.

heard vaguely of China. In A.D. 120 jugglers, sent with an embassy of one of the states on China's southern border, arrived at Loyang and professed to come from west of the sea, a region which they declared to be the same as Ta Ch'in" (151, p. 129).

The *Hou Han Shu*, or Annals of the Later Hans, compiled in the fifth century A.D., record that in 166 A.D. a party of foreigners who claimed to have been sent by the then Roman emperor, Antun or Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, as ambassadors to China, arrived by sea in Tongking and then went over-land to the court of the Chinese emperor to whom they offered ivory, rhinoceros horns and tortoise-shell. They were in all probability Orientals and the genuineness of their embassy was suspected by the author of these Annals (154, pp. 1, 2). Chang considers that this embassy was the first recorded successful attempt to complete the course of navigation from the far west to the far east; but it is, of course, obvious from Ptolemy that the sea-route was well-known before then.

Buddhism would seem to have reached China in the reign of Ming-ti (58-57 A.D.) through the preaching of two Indian missionaries who may have taken the route of the Irrawaddy and Yunnan. The Chinese themselves would seem not to have been bold discoverers; their voyages seem to have been made slowly by a cautious creeping along the coasts at a time considerably later than the exploitation of the sea-route from India and the west.

The sea-route from the coasts of India to China once it was developed displaced the land-route since it was much easier though longer. Canton in due course became the first town in China proper to be visited by foreigners who are recorded as being there in the second half of the third century A.D. (154, p. 4).

It is obvious that in the civilisation of south-eastern Asia by the Indians the Straits of Malacca and the Malay Peninsula must have played vitally important parts since they provided the main high-ways of that civilisation. It is a most unfortunate fact that the ancient Indians unlike the Chinese were neither historians nor geographers; they left only the vague and unsatisfactory records with which we have dealt. For the early period which we are now considering, that is up to the middle of the third century, the evidence is afforded by Chinese records, by art, by epigraphy, by references in Indian literature and by tradition, together with Ptolemy's geography. All this evidence has fortunately been weighed and considered by many great scholars who provide us with the inferences which they think should be drawn from it.

Outside of the Chinese writings, we have in this period only one piece of recorded evidence, the sanskrit inscription of Vo-can in Annam dateable about 200 A.D. This is the earliest

inscription of Champa¹ and records a donation by a King. The name of the royal family has been read as Sri-Mararajakula, and it is usually said that the King was of the dynasty of Sri Mara. The latest consideration of this inscription is to be found in Dr. Chhabra's splendid monograph (138).

Art provides us with a deal of evidence, which connects south-eastern Asia with the village of Amaravati in the Kistna (Krishna) district of the Madras Presidency, the name of which village is applied to a school of art. In Java, Sumatra, Siam, Annam and the Celebes "bronze and stone figures have been discovered, some of monumental size, all of them supposed to be imported from Amaravati" and to the Amaravati School must also be attributed the influx of art into Funan in the opinion of Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer (155). To this school and the period of 150 A.D. must be attributed the enormous stone Buddha of Mt. Seguntang in Sumatra as well as the small bronze Buddha of P'ong Tük to which we are about to refer (155, p. 126). Dr. Krom has written a note concerning the Sumatran Buddha (113) and illustrations are contained in the volume where that note appears. For the reader who is interested in matters of Indian and Indonesian art, Professor Ananda Coomaraswamy's celebrated work is obviously recommended (137) while a very useful essay on the School of Amaravati by Devaprasad Ghosh (156) is worthy of attention.

Most interesting for our particular purposes, however, are the discoveries of Professor Coedès at the village of P'ong Tük in Siam, some 15 kilometres from the railway station of Ban Pong which is not far west of Bangkok (see 157, 158, and 159). Amongst these discoveries were a fine bronze statuette of Buddha and a Roman lamp. The statuette, Professor Coedès considers and his view is accepted everywhere, was of the School of Amaravati of the second century A.D. The lamp, he is almost certain, was actually made in the Mediterranean area and was not an Indian copy. "If it was not made in India, it must have been brought over from Italy or from Greece, or more probably from some place in what we call in Europe the Near East, and this raises the fascinating question of the relations between this country (Siam) and the Roman Empire during the second (may be the first) century A.D." (158, p. 16). Here we may interpolate that, if Coedès is right, the provenance of the lamp was what the Chinese called Ta Ch'in or Ta Ts'in, while the Indian themselves called the inhabitants of the Roman Orient by the name of Yavana, which eventually came to apply to all foreigners. "The Greeks are known to Indian literature as Yavanas or Ionians, a name which came to India through Persia, and owes its origin to the fact that the Persians, as they became acquainted with Greeks other than those of Ionia, extended the term Ionian to all

¹At that time called Lin-Yi by the Chinese. R.B.

Hellenes. The earliest occurrence of the word in India is in Panini, which shows that the word has passed into Sanskrit before the time of Alexander the Great. In its Prakrit form, Yona, we find it in the inscriptions of Asoka as the name of his Hellenistic neighbours. The word survived in India long after its original application was forgotten, and came to mean foreigners in general—indeed there are signs that it was early applied, not only to the Greeks, but also to the Sakas, so that in later times it was regularly applied to the Muhammadans" (160, p. 62). Ptolemy and those of his informants who were not Indians would have been known in India as Yavanas and that part of the ancient Tamil literature known as the Sangam, which is generally considered to coincide in date with the first two centuries after Christ and so to be contemporary with the lamp of P'ong Tük (first to second century A.D.), is full of references to the Yavanas and their presence in south India, their ships, their military genius, their sailors and merchants, their trade and articles of merchandize, of which vases and *lamps* were specially mentioned (34, p. 270).

Professor Coedès points out that "the old Hinduized Kingdoms of Lower Siam were not so far away from one of the routes followed by traders, who, coming from Europe and India and bound for China, wished to escape the journey round the Malay Peninsula. It is a well-known fact, mentioned in the Chinese Annals and corroborated by a good deal of evidence, that in order to escape that journey and avoid the straits, they used land-routes across the Peninsula in some of its narrow parts. P'ong Tük does not lie along any of these routes; it is much further north. But it lies along a route of great historical importance, which, coming from Lower Burma, crosses the mountain range at P'ra Chedi Sam Ong, the famous Three Pagodas pass. Now the Chinese of the Han Dynasty tell us that in A.D. 120 a company of musicians and acrobats from Ta Ts'in—say Greek or Roman comedians—was sent over from Burma to China, and reached China by sea. It is quite possible that instead of going round the Malay Peninsula they crossed over to the Lower Menam Valley, followed the route along the Mekong, and embarked in some part of the Gulf of Siam" (158, p. 18).

P'ong Tuk would, moreover, seem to have been on or near the ancient porcelain route concerning which Mr. Collis Brown has written in the *Illustrated London News* of December 7, 1935. He says that "the popular notion that porcelain was brought from China direct to the West by ship is only true of the seventeenth century and after, when some was taken home in Dutch and, later, in French and English vessels. Before that date, right back to the twelfth century—that is to say, during the Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties—there was no carriage of porcelain direct to the Mediterranean, if exception is made of the few pieces the Portuguese imported as curiosities". Leaving ports like Macao in southern China by junk the porcelain, so Mr. Collis says, "was

brought down to the coast and into Siam, where it was purchased by Indian and Persian dealers resident there. The agents of these men transported it thereafter chiefly across a narrow part of the Malay Peninsula, called the province of Tenasserim, from the port of which, Mergui, it was either taken in Indian ships across the Bay of Bengal to Masulipatam and thence distributed over the continent or in Persian and Arab ships to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, from whence it reached Cairo, Constantino-ple, Venice, and, very occasionally, England".

This old trade-route had been in existence for many centuries and since it was an easy and natural one may have been used in the first centuries of our era, so it appears to us. In reality it was not in the Malay Peninsula properly so called but north of it since it "lay up the Tenasserim River from Mergui to the town of Tenasserim, a distance of 45 miles, and from that up to the Little Tenasserim another 40 miles to the present frontier of Siam". Mr. Collis says that along the route were the remains of old walled towns but no excavations were made by him and there is accordingly an interesting virgin field for exploration amongst these old sites.

Of the short cuts across the Malay Peninsula proper Dr. Quaritch Wales has very recently explored three, the Takuapa-Bandon route and two others south of it from Trang to Nakon Sri Thammarat and Patalung respectively (82a). In addition there were the more northerly Mergui-Pracuab crossing, which was for long used, and the well-known Kra route. The first three produced much evidence of Indian remains but nothing which can be dated prior to the fifth or sixth century A.D.; a consideration of this evidence must therefore be postponed to a later period of this essay. Dr. Quaritch Wales says that the Kra route was carefully searched by Prince Damrong's orders and the Mergui-Pracuab route has been covered many times by people versed in archaeology; yet from neither has appeared the slightest evidence of Indian remains¹.

The evidence at present available seems to show that the sea was the main highway for the first Indian penetration of south-eastern Asia and that the land routes were used later, except for the Burma-Yunnan route which may have been used by merchants from the west as well as by the Chinese.

It would seem that the first part of the coast opposite the Bay of Bengal which attracted Indian settlements after the time of Buddha was what we call Lower Burma and that the main attraction lay in the fact that gold had been found inland, after which Lower Burma came to be known in Buddhist literature

¹Gerini, however, wrote that ancient remains of temples and of earthen ramparts were still (1909) to be seen in the environs of the village of Kra (46, p. 115). R.B.

as Suvarna-bhumi, which means the Land of Gold. This name appears in pali as well as sanskrit; and pali is the earliest form of prākrit, a vernacular descended from a Vedic dialect and not so developed as sanskrit which succeeded it (161, pp. 59, 199). Accordingly, Suvarna-bhumi as a name must date back very far. To-day scholars understand it in its most extended sense to refer to the peninsula of Indo-China, and, particularly, to the country extending beyond the east and north coasts of the Bay of Bengal or Ramanadesa, as it was called in sanskrit, that is Lower Burma. Srinivas Iyengar (36), Sir Charles Elliot (25), Professor Mookerji (50) and Harvey (47) all state that Suvarna-bhumi meant Lower Burma and particularly Pegu and Thaton where the earliest Indian kingdoms in that territory were founded. It seems clear that from the beginning of the Buddhist era parties of Indians from the east coast of India came to Lower Burma by sea and thence found their way into the west of what is Siam to-day.

That distinguished scholar H. R. H. Prince Damrong of Siam says that the earliest Indian immigrants settled along the West Coast from Pegu down through the Malay Peninsula and that from the coast of Pegu they crossed over to Nagor Pathom on the Gulf of Siam (162, p. 7). Harvey considers that these immigrants came by sea from the present Madras Presidency (47, p. 6). Prince Damrong says that the Mahavamsa, the great chronicle of Ceylon, mentions two monks who were sent by the great Asoka to Suvarna-bhumi, which Professor Rhys Davids in his work on Buddhism explains as consisting of the region extending from Pegu down the Malay Peninsula. The Mons, says the Prince, allege that Suvarna-bhumi was identical with the district of Thaton on the Gulf of Martaban. The Prince thinks that "we Siamese with better reason than the Mons may place it in our own country. For we have a district called U Thong (source or repository of gold) which corresponds to the old name Suvarna-bhumi". He agrees, however, with Professor Rhys Davids that Suvarna-bhumi meant the region extending from Pegu to West Siam and perhaps even as far as what is now Annam. Then he proceeds (ibid: p. 10) that "there is one established fact not yet known to archaeologists in other countries, namely, that in West Siam there exists a certain city with the remains of many *stupas*¹, *chetiya*s² and *vihara*s³. In the whole of Suvarna-bhumi from Burma and Pegu down through the Malay Peninsula there is no city at once larger and older than this one. In ancient writings it is called Jaiya-Ciai or Ciri-Jaiya and it was already abandoned before the founding of the old capital at Sukhodaya. Only recently has it become a town once more after construction of the railway, its name being Nagor Pathom. Many later proofs have been dis-

¹Buddhist relic-mounds.

²Buddhist assembly-halls.

³Buddhist monasteries.

covered to support the view of H.M. King Mongkut who set up a stone inscription at the *chetiya* there, declaring that the Buddhist religion was introduced into the city in the time of Asoka"; and he gives facts to support this statement.

There seems to be little doubt that Suvarna-bhumi was the place known in the Periplus and to Pomponius Mela and Pliny as Chryse which Ptolemy was the first to distinguish from the Chersonese. Suvarna-bhumi, applied at first to a particular territory, soon came to be a generic name like El Dorado or the Gold Coast. Ptolemy's Chryse would seem undoubtedly to have covered the land known as Suvarna-bhumi in the more particular sense which we have set out above, *i.e.* Lower Burma and West Siam.

Professor Banerji in his great History of Orissa (163, p. 93) writes that "it is dawning upon us slowly that in the very dawn of Indian History the people of Kalinga were the pioneers of Indian colonisation in Further India and the Indian Archipelago. More than half-a-century ago Kern recognized that South Indian tribes took the most prominent part in the colonization of the Indian Archipelago and among the Simbiring tribe¹ (which means the Black) there are five sub-divisions designated Choliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, Depari and Pelawi." In these five names he rightly recognized the South Indian names Chola, Pandya, Pahlava or Pallava and Malayali or Chera. The origin of the Depari is still a subject of conjecture. The Meliyala, according to Vogel, are the Malayallis of the Malabar Coast of South India. The same authority states that "it is curious that among the other tribes of the Karo-Bataks the 'Keling' origin of the Simbiring is a recognized fact". The reader is commended generally to Professor Banerji's chapter on the Overseas Empire of Kalinga.

It is, we think, clear that the Kalingas crossed the Bay of Bengal to Suvarna-bhumi (in its particular sense) and that thence they and successive waves of Indians thereafter spread their colonisation over the Indo-Chinese peninsula, down the Malay Peninsula, into Sumatra and Java and thence into the islands of the Indian Archipelago, through Oceania and possibly finally to the west coast of South America; but that is a generalisation which would in itself require a whole book to expound.

In south-eastern Asia there were two zones of civilization, the Indian and the Chinese, and save in the north of what is Indo-China to-day, it was the Indian civilization which prevailed in the places recorded by Ptolemy, though, of course, he does not say so himself. The Roman Empire was in touch with India, with the Indo-Chinese peninsula and with China; at least one Roman embassy is recorded and it is highly probable that the ambassadors employed were Orientals familiar with the Far East. Such a person was Raja Marong Mahawangsa married to a Girgassi and

¹In Sumatra.

speaking that language. But, the reader will ask, why should Raja Marong Mahawangsa be treated as having made the settlement in Kedah so very far back ?

The Annals tell us that changes were proceeding in the physical shape of Kedah during the earliest times of its first kingdom. When Raja Marong Mahawangsa arrived off Kedah " he inquired of an old Malim (captain) who was in his ship if he knew the locality ", who said, " the large island we have reached is now becoming attached to the main land, and its name is Pulo Srail (or Sri) my lord. That small island which your highness sees is named *Pulo Jambul*, and that other, more in shore, is *Pulo Lada* " (121, p. 8). Pulo Srail is, of course, Gunong Jerai or Kedah Peak and Low has recorded (*ibid.* p. 23) that it was called K'hau Srail by the Siamese, while Kedah itself was called by them Muang Srail or Chrai.

Raja Mahawangsa in due course abdicated in favour of his son and set sail for Rum. " In going out of the harbour, Mahawangsa looked towards the shore and saw *Pulo Lada*, which island had then been annexed to the main land, called afterwards *Bukit Lada*, the ' *Hill Lada* ', also *Pulo Jambul*, before an island, but which had also been joined to the main shore ; and which afterwards got the name of " the *Hill Jambul* ", for it was quite in a line with Pulo Srail, which last was just about being joined to the main land and was subsequently named Gunong Jerrei or Chirrei, on account of its great height. Again towards the N.N.W. was to be seen what looked like a point of a moveable nature and further seaward Pulo Giryang, which was, not long afterwards, attached to the main, also then called Gunong Giryang, and Bukit Tunjang " (121, p. 169).

It is then very clear that the Annals are asserting here that Raja Mahawangsa must have reigned a very long time ago. Winstedt writes (125, p. 35) that " allusion is made to the fact that Gunong Geriang, Gunong Jerai and Gunong Jambul were once islands. Now geologists tell us this is true, but it was thousands of years ago, too far back for tradition to have come down ; so that presumably Malays must have observed the evidence of sea-shells inland and drawn haphazard the correct conclusion ". But we venture to suggest, in the first place, that no tradition is too old to come down and that if the tradition of the Flood could descend so could one as ' young ' (if one may so express it) as that now under consideration. The tradition that large parts of the present Peninsula were once under sea and that various mountains and hills were once islands is rife throughout the country ; thus it is embodied in Menangkabau customary sayings in the Negri Sembilan (164, p. 13) ; it is found in the Benua legends (73, p. 105) ; at Changkat Rembian in the Batang Padang District, Perak, there is a rock supposed to be the petrified hull of an Indian ship which came trading to those parts in ancient days (165) and there are similar legends in Johore and Muar (166) ;

see also Maxwell's Legend of Pulau Tungal (167). Geology proves that it was a fact and, if it was a fact, why should not so vital a fact have been handed down in tradition?

And was it a fact so very long ago? Winstedt does not give a reference to the geological opinion which he records but Dr. Ingham, of the Geological Survey Department, has kindly provided us with references. The reader is referred to Scrivenor (65, pp. 185 ff.; 168 pp. 119 ff.) and Wilbourn (169, p. 298) for the geological data, and for botanical and zoological evidence to Ridley (170) and Robinson and Kloss (171).

But a new and most striking fact has come to light which Mr. H. D. Collings, of Raffles Museum, allows me to state in anticipation of a fully descriptive article which he is writing for the Raffles Museum Bulletin. In Goa¹ Bintong, Bukit Chuping, N. Perlis, there were found sea-water shells, swamp shells and fresh-water shells mixed together. The sea-water shells were in sufficient quantities to show that they had been used for food; therefore, they must have been procured from some place within 10 miles from the cave or they would have hardly been brought to it before going bad. Associated with these shells is a bead which fortunately has been dated by Mr. H. C. Beck, the well-known expert, as coming from the first four centuries A.D. The Malays in the district all say that in old days the sea came up where the cave is.

The bead is strikingly like those found at Kuala Selinsing. Mr. Beck has reported on some beads found by Mr. G. B. Gardner in Johore as being of a type dating back as early as 700 B.C. and upon others from Johore as dating from the first century A.D. Of crystal and carnelian beads from Slim River, Perak, he has written that they were almost identical with beads found at Kuala Selinsing which were provisionally dated to the 4th century A.D. and of glass beads from slab graves at Sungkai and Slim he has pointed out that they belong to a series of yellow and orange beads that extend "from Egypt to South Africa on the one hand and to the Philippines on the other". All this matter will duly be published and we are merely able to anticipate very curtly what obviously is going to be a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the Peninsula.

We are justified in saying, then, that, according to Kedah tradition, at some date very long ago a settlement was found near Kedah by a semi-royal personage who suffered ship-wreck while on an embassy to China. To his settlement Mahawangsa gave the name of Lankasuka according to the Annals. This corresponds with a Chinese name Langga-siu with which we deal later herein.

¹Meaning 'Cave'.

Let us now examine the facts given as to his voyage and the ship-wreck.

There were two large ships, one for the prince and one for the ambassador, and many smaller ships for their suites. "The fleet sailed on a fortunate day, and as it went along, touched at all the Ports which were then under the empire of Rum—the Embassy receiving at each of these, the accustomed marks of respect. At length it entered the sea of Hindustan, and beheld its wonders. Then coasting down that continent, the fleet anchored occasionally in the bays of the Islands, where the people sought for shell-fish, fired guns and otherwise amused themselves".

The Annals are, of course, full of anachronisms and, as they proceed, show the same telescoping of history that we noticed in the *Sejarah Malayu*.

The Annals proceed in Low's translation "After a while it reached the mouth of the Changong river where reigned Raja Galungi or Kalungi"; Bland says "now when they had sailed as far as Kuala¹ Ching Kong, the name of whose Raja was Klanggi"; while Sturrock gives the names as Kuala Changgong and Kelinggi. Low identifies the Changong as 'the river of Pegu'; Winstedt says that "another anachronism may be the mention of Kuala Changgong, if that name means Rangoon, which latter name dates from 1755 A.D. only" (see 122, 123 and 125).

The next place "after a voyage of some days" was the "Tawai river, where it disembogues into the sea"; Sturrock gives the same name. This seems clearly to be the Tavoy River on the Tenasserim coast.

Then came the "port of Mrit", as to which Low notes that "this was the name then, and in fact is the native name now, given to the British possession of Mergui". Bland gives the name as Marib and Sturrock as Kuala Parit. Low's explanation seems best in view of the fact which he states.

After some days the ships next came in sight of "Salang, in the sea called Tappan". "Here having cast anchor abreast of the Island, the Ambassador sent a party on shore to ask permission of the Chief or Raja to wood and water, but the Prince's vessel² with other ships stood on down the coast, by rounding the point of the island". Here we are clearly at Junk Ceylon; Low says that Tappan is an obsolete name as he had not found anyone who could explain it. Sturrock gives the extraordinary name Bang Tofan.

The Prince's vessel then made for the "island of Lankapuri" where he was ship-wrecked. Mahawangsa, however, sailed down to Pulau Srai or Kedah Peak.

¹Mouth of a river.

We see then that this ambassador of the Raja of Rum proceeded along Ptolemy's route, according to which the Roman ships reached the west coast of India, went round its foot up to Paloura, then across the Bay of Bengal to Sada, etc. Marong Mahawangsa got into the sea of Hindustan which we can say was the Bay of Bengal; thence he reaches the country of the Raja of Kalangi (Klanggi or Kelinggi) where there is a big river the Changong. Kalangi with its variants clearly represents Kalinga and its other forms and ancient Burma, as we have seen, was a Kalinga or Telinga country. The Kedah Annals say in one passage that this Kalangi was Ava (a much later name, of course) and Low says that it was Pegu, the ancient Burmese kingdom, though this again was a later name for the country than Kalangi or Kalinga. We can identify it as Lower Burma or Suvarnabhumi. Mahawangsa then sailed for some days to the Tawai which we think, as Low did, was the Tavoy; after which he made the port of Mrit or Mergui according to Low, then Junk Ceylon and thence to Kedah Peak.

In considering Ptolemy's place-names we have suggested that the Temalos River and Temala were in the Irrawaddy Delta, after which Ptolemy tells us came the country of the cannibal Besyngitai, where there was an emporium called Besynga by Ptolemy and this we have suggested was in the estuary of the Tavoy River. Thereafter came a town Beroba which Berthelot suggests was Karathuri but which Gerini identifies as Mergui, a place for which Berthelot gives no equivalent. Lastly Ptolemy makes the Chersonese begin at a promontory which seems clearly to have been Junk Ceylon.

Before leaving the Raja's voyage to Kedah we should remark the succession of great storms which Garuda sent in his endeavours to prevent the fleet from reaching China and which wrecked so many of the Raja's ships. These storms were obviously what are called Sumatras in the Straits of Malacca—storms of wind and rain, lightning and thunder, very violent and still forming a hazard of navigation even in the case of steamships. Garuda, as the Annals say, is "beheld high in the air, casting his vast shadow over the fleet". We suggest that in such legends of Garuda we have the true origin of the Arab sailors' *rokh* or giant bird that was so dangerous and whose coming darkened the whole sky in the Straits of Malacca; in reality it was the Sumatra storm which appearing first in the distance is likened to a vast bird at whose coming the sky is blackened as though by its wings which with their violent beating drive the wind hurling through the Straits, leaving death and destruction in their trail. Maxwell has recorded (87, p. 13) that "if, during the day, the sun is suddenly overcast by clouds and shadow succeeds to brilliancy, the Perak Malay will say "Gerda (*i.e.* Garuda) is spreading out his wings to dry". There are many references to the *rokh* in Ferrand's translation of the Arab texts (172) and there is a very useful note on the Garuda

bird in Penzer's *Katha Sarit Sagara* (173, i, pp. 103-105). Our explanation is, however, original so far as we know, but we think that any local reader who studies the descriptions in the Kedah Annals will agree with us. Garuda was the vehicle of Vishnu and the enemy of the Nagas, or serpents; and in the story of Sinbad the Sailor the *rokk* is represented as attacking gigantic snakes.

Let us now set out shortly the story of Mahawangsa's founding of his settlement.

When he had moored his ship he went ashore with his Chiefs and followers and was shortly visited by large numbers of the Girgassis, whose caste he knew and whose tongue he could speak. They told him that they had no Raja and gave him permission to make a settlement. So he pitched upon "a delightful and convenient spot for a residence" and erected a fort with a ditch around it, and a palace and hall of audience to which he gave the name of Lankasuka. He took up his abode with his wife in the palace and had his effects brought from the ship while his followers erected their dwellings round the place. Later, numbers of people with their families joined the settlement which prospered and increased.

A son was born to Mahawangsa and when he reached marriageable age the Raja sent for his four old mantris and asked if there was any powerful country lying near at hand whose king had a disposable daughter. The mantris replied that there was no country of any note situated near the Raja's domains but there was a country called Acheh on the sea coast of the island of Percha, *i.e.* Sumatra. It was divided into many provinces and lay about 25 days sailing from their Raja's country. "There is also another country situated on the same continent where we are settled. The name of its Raja is Kalangi. It lies too in the line of the voyage which brought us here. It is about one month's sailing hence to that country, which contains many rare productions, such for example, as huge vases, and small jars, and the large tree called *malau tahi semoot*¹ besides many other kinds of wood of great girth. The river also which flows through that country is broad, and comes from a great distance". Accordingly, an embassy was sent to Kalangi, whose Raja gave them a large vase² made by an ancient Girgassi and sent a polite reply to Mahawangsa's message. We then get a statement after the embassy had returned to Kedah that Mahawangsa had reclaimed large tracts of land from the sea. On the advice of his Chiefs Mahawangsa installed his son as his successor and married him to a princess, whether a daughter of the Raja of Kalangi or not is not stated. The large jar was placed close to the foot of a tree.

¹Which Low says is "the sticklac of commerce, the sanskrit Laksha".

²Can any one explain why Kalangi was celebrated for its "huge vases and small jars"? R.B.

Then follows a very interesting passage. The old Raja said to his son that if he was blessed with children he should send one son to the N.N.W. of Kedah, one to the S.S.E. or nearly so, and a third to the E.N.E., but that his son himself should remain in Kedah. Later the second Raja, Podisat, had four children, three sons and a daughter; and in due course colonies were sent out. The first which included many Girgassi families went under one of the princes to the N.N.W. with numbers of horses and elephants and after 200 days' travelling reached a desirable spot where a rivulet flowed into the sea, and where the land was level and populous. Here a settlement was made called Siam Lanchang, and also called generally the country of Siam.

Next a similar expedition went S.S.E. under another prince and at length reached a large river which flowed to the sea and where there were three or four islands. The prince shot a silver arrow from his bow Indrasakti and made his settlement upon the island where the arrow fell calling it Indrasakti. Later he changed the name to Perak, the silver country, after the silver-pointed arrow.

The third colony went out under the princess and went due East. It reached a wild, woody tract covered with jungle, of great extent and unfrequented, after which it went over hills and mountains and when it approached the sea and reached a river mouth, a settlement was made and the princess became its raja. This was Patani.

Here we have a tradition that three new kingdoms were founded by descendants of Mahawangsa. We cannot say in reality what were these kingdoms, or the dates when they were founded. The three names given for the new kingdoms are obviously late interpolations and do not answer to known facts. The state of Perak is very doubtful while obviously Siam, in the sense of modern Siam, must be ruled out. The directions in which the expeditions sailed have been the subject of adverse comment in that they do not accord, in the cases of Siam and Perak, with the true directions. But these are minor matters besides the main fact that the Annals record the founding of a very ancient settlement by a semi-royal founder and the founding of three other settlements by his descendants. Let us see whether actual facts show any semi-royal family connected with the earliest Indian settlements in south-eastern Asia; *guarding ourselves, however, from drawing inferences or making assertions.*

First we must note the ancient Indian settlement which the Chinese called Langga-siu.¹ It is mentioned in the *Liang Shu*, or Annals of the Liang Dynasty (502-557 A.D.) and the relevant passages have been translated by Groeneveldt (148, pp. 135-137) with which should be compared Schlegel (174, IX, pp. 191-200).

¹ 狼牙修.

The Chinese history makes it clear that in the sixth century A.D. the tradition in Langga-siu was that the country had been founded "more than 400 years ago", which would mean in the first century of the Christian era. We shall at the proper chronological period of this essay consider the identification of Langga-siu and quote the relevant passages but for the moment it will be sufficient to say that in our view the state was on the Malay Peninsula between 9° and 6° lat. N. We have therefore the ancient state of Lankasuka in the Kedah tradition and the other state of Langga-siu in the Chinese Annals. One feels reasonably safe in relating the two to each other, both on etymological grounds and probabilities.

The next kingdom to which we must look is the one to which the celebrated inscription of Vo-canĥ must be referred; this inscription will be found set out and translated by Majumdar (175, Bk. III, pp. 1-3). It refers to the royal family of Sri Mara, and it refers to a 'first conquest' though of what is unknown since again the text is missing; and it was apparently set up by an 'excellent King' whose name, however, is not mentioned. It is a sanskrit inscription and so proves an Indian settlement at Vo-canĥ while epigraphy proves it to date from the second or third century A.D. It is usually stated to be the earliest inscription of the ancient Indian Kingdom of Champa which the Chinese called Lin-yi. Vo-canĥ is in the province of Khanh-Hoa, where there was once a province of Champa called Kauthara.

Majumdar (175, Bk. I, p. 21) says "Thus a Hindu or Hinduised dynasty was founded by Sri Mara in the second century A.D. and it was ruling over the region, later known as Kauthara, about the second or third century A.D."; but actually there is no evidence that Sri Mara founded any kingdom at all. All that the inscription says is that the king who erected it was "the delight of the family of Sri Mara" and here the inscription is perfect, no other name following Sri Mara. There are words missing after the first mention of Sri Mara though not after the second. We have no information as to who was Sri Mara or where he lived or what relation to him was the un-named king who set up the inscription. We know from Chinese records that in 137 A.D. the K'iu-lien, a barbarous people on the frontiers of Je-nan, invaded the sub-prefecture of Siang-lin which was the southern-most part of Je-nan. In 192 A.D. a king of the family of Kiu, named Lien, headed a fresh attack on Siang-lin and proclaimed himself king. Maspero has suggested that Lien and Sri Mara were the same but it is conjecture only (176, p. 51).

We have in the Vo-canĥ inscription the earliest actual record of an Indian King in south-eastern Asia, though we also have in Chinese history the King of Ye-tiao whom we have already mentioned.

Jayaswal (109 p. 169) says that "the Kaundinyas who were on the scene as early as the second century A.D. were probably the

same family who sent out a scion to Champa (Indo-China) to be the founder of the Kaundinya Kingdom there. They seem to have been imported from Northern India in the time of the Imperial Satavahanas. The family was a very respected one. They are mentioned with respect in two Malavalli inscriptions and were related to the royal family. We seem to have a historical corroboration here of the Champa tradition of the Kaundinyas. Champa received her colony from southern India led by the Kaundinyas. Another Kaundinya, in the reign of Samudra Gupta, goes to Champa and reforms the society there. He was very likely connected with this family. The Kaundinyas must have been in touch with their Champa branch, which would have been certainly to their advantage. In the second, third and fourth centuries they were thus social leaders in the South and the Colonies". Again he writes later (*ibid.* pp. 244-245) that "the State of Champa (Annam), according to Chinese authorities was founded in 137 A.D. Champa seems to have been mentioned under the name Angadvipa by the Vayu Purana (Chap. 48)". He says that Kiu-lien (which he writes Kin-lien) seems to be the Chinese rendering of Kaundinya.

Let us now see with what ancient states the Kaundinyas are associated. The *Liang Shu* says that the King of Poli¹ had the family name of Kaundinya (148, p. 204). The identification of this Poli is a matter of difficulty and will be treated later; for the present it is sufficient to say that it was in Malaysia. The Chinese record that "when asked about their ancestors or about their age, they do not know it but they say that the wife of Suddhodana² was a woman from their country".

Coedès (177) has shown that the inscription engraved on a slate pillar which was found in the ruins of a monument at Thap-Muoi in the Plaines des Joncs is really a Funan inscription. It dates from the second half of the fifth century A.D. epigraphically and its author is stated to be Gunavarman, who is called a "King's son". His father was of the race of Kaundinya and he had put his son at the head of a domain wrested from the mud, which, Coedès says, evidently meant reclaimed by drainage and drying from the alluvion of the Mekong which constitutes to-day the Plaine des Joncs. Coedès thinks that Gunavarman's father was certainly a King of Funan.

The tradition of Funan as it was stated in the first half of the third century A.D. was that it was founded by a man named Kaundinya who by means of a magic bow triumphed over the local queen Lieou-ye and then married her. The reader is referred here to Pelliot's splendid article (146) in the *Etudes Asiatiques*. Kaundinya was said to have come from Wou-wen but where was that?

¹波利 (=P'o-Li 婆利).

²The father of Buddha.

In a footnote to his *Deux Itinéraires* (129, p. 386, n. 2) Pelliot says that de Lacouperie identified Wou-wen with Oman and the coast of India but this identification he himself discards. Pelliot eventually considered Wou-wen to be on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula (146, p. 248) but he works this out by a process which the reader should study, and to which we shall have to refer later.

The Kaundinya tradition was carried on in Cambodia after the Khmers broke away from Funan as we shall see in the next period of this essay.

Lastly in Borneo, at Kutei on the east coast, there was found an inscription which dates epigraphically from 400 A.D. circ. and which records three Kings—Mulavarman, the author of the inscription, son of Asvavarman, son of Kundunga or as some have written it Kundunga. Kundangga seems to be a Tamil word; can it be Kaundinya? If Poli were Borneo, as some think, then it would seem that it might be so, since the Chinese recorded Kaundinya as the king's family name there.

The reader's attention is particularly drawn to the interesting note which Dr. Chhabra has sent us concerning the name Kundunga; it will be found in the Appendix hereto.

However all that may be, we can say that we have an Indian family, the Kaundinyas, connected with Poli, Funan, Cambodia, and possibly Champa. May it not be that there was one original Kaundinya in south-eastern Asia and his descendants founded other kingdoms? Is it possible that the Kedah Annals still preserve the tradition of such things having happened? Is it conceivable that Sri Marong Mahawangsa, *i.e.* the Great Family, was the original Sri Mara and that descendant princes went to Funan and to Poli (Borneo)?¹ The Kedah Annals, like the *Sejarah Melayu*, suffer from re-editing and a telescoping of history but we do know that Kedah was a very ancient Indian settlement since it contained at one time² records that date epigraphically from 400 A.D. circ. Had it not been for Col. Low we should have known nothing of this for he was the only person who did any archaeological exploration in Kedah until Mr. Ivor Evans did a little not so long ago. Col. Low's archaeological work is preserved in the Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indo-China (178) but there are also notes concerning it in his translation of the Kedah Annals. These Annals record that the old Hindu idols and remains were destroyed when the country became Mohamedan and Low says that "the remains of numerous

¹Mr. Linehan informs me that Seri Ismara is the title of one of the royal family in Kelantan (Tengku Seri Ismara Raja) and that in the 15th century Pahang was ruled by a prince of the family of Paduka Bubunnya (see this Journal, vol. xiv, pt. 2, p. 12). Is there any connection with Sri Mara and Kaundinya? R.B.

²*i.e.* before the British possessed Province Wellesley, which had been part of the State of Kedah. R.B.

temples which I discovered being induced to the search first accidentally by having seen some loose bricks lying in a spot in the forest, and afterwards from reading the above noticed passages, when joined to the ruins of almost every fort and site described in this history of Kedah likewise found by me, are so far satisfactory that they verify the main points of that history" (121, p. 481). He also found several ruins of ancient tombs near Kedah Peak (ibid. p. 257) where bodies were interred and these had been built close to "Sivaic temples". "The Malays who were along with me expressed their opinion, founded on certain anatomical appearances which I cannot at present describe that the occupants of these tombs were not of the Malayan race, but were most likely Klings".

Dealing with the various places where the Annals say that the capital or palace was situated from time to time Low says that "traces of the wall of the fort of Srokam still exist, shewing that it was partly erected with the laterite found close at hand, and lining the north bank of the river." He also says that "Sungei Mas was explored by me. It is a small stream falling into the old channel of the Muda River. The appearance of bricks scattered about, tends to corroborate our author's account of it".

It is very clear that Kedah was much fuller of archaeological remains in 1849 than to-day and one can only deplore the loss of valuable information brought about by neglect of these remains nearly all of which have long since disappeared. But there must be much living tradition in Kedah well worthy of record and one hopes that what has been written above will stimulate somebody to add to our present information about this historically most important State.

We can now conclude by returning to Ptolemy and his Iabadiou but unfortunately this island cannot be placed without some general consideration of Ptolemy's coastal positions beyond the Chersonese. They will be found set out in the Appendix, together with the distances from the preceding place as given by Ptolemy and rendered into kilometres by Berthelot.

We left Ptolemy at the Perimoulikos Gulf $162^{\circ} 30'$, 4° N., where he ends the Golden Chersonese. He next takes us to the country of the Leistai, concerning which he tells us elsewhere in Chapter 2 of Book VII that the inhabitants lived in caves and looked like beasts, having skins like a hippotamus, so hard that arrows would not pierce them. Above their country was a broken wild region containing elephants and tigers, and above that again was a territory in which lived the Kodoutai, Barrai, Sindoi and Daonai which last people lived near the river Daonas. These peoples in their turn lived below a country called Khalkitis where there were very many copper mines.

The name Leistai is generally taken not to be a transliteration but the Greek name for robbers or pirates and Ptolemy seems

to be corroborated as to them by archaeological evidence of cave-dwelling and by references in later Chinese records to pirates and to people with skin shields that threw off arrows. These records will be considered at their proper chronological time.

From the country of the Leistai Ptolemy takes us round what he calls the Great Gulf and thence to the country of the Sinai. Journey's end for him is Kattigara beyond the River Kattiaris but unfortunately owing to his misconceptions it is almost impossible to follow Ptolemy once he leaves the Chersonese. The mathematical method breaks down absolutely; the philological produces its usual results; and we are left only with such deductions, if any, as can be made by comparing his data with known facts. Two things seem principally to have thrown Ptolemy out; the first a passage from Marinus of Tyre (given in 53, p. 390) which caused him to place all his positions in the country of the Leistai facing due south and the second a belief that the line of coast from the country of the Leistai made a great bay to the Sinai, proceeded southwards to Kattigara and then enclosed the Indian Ocean into a vast lake surrounded by 'Unknown Land'. These two main errors combined with mistakes of longitude and latitude must have reflected themselves in our opinion in the positions which Ptolemy gave to the islands which he placed in the seas around the Chersonese. If the reader will look back to the maps which accompanied the last part of this essay he will see the general results of Ptolemy's geography and will understand the difficulties which face any attempt to fit them to the true facts.

The two most important places to locate are Kattigara and Zabae which he tells us was the intermediate calling place between the Chersonese and the Sinai and which was in the country of the Leistai. If moreover, one could fit Ptolemy's physical facts with reality that would be a great help; but one cannot, as we shall indicate.

Kattigara can be placed on historical reasoning but not on mathematical, which latter gives Amoy according to Berthelot, Hang-chou according to Gerini and Kotawaringin in Borneo according to Rylands! Ptolemy was writing during the later or Eastern Han Dynasty when the capital of China was at Loyang near the present Honanfu (151, pp. 46, 124, 126). It is clear from Chinese records that the sea-route at the time when Ptolemy wrote ended at a place in either the commandery of Je-nan or that of Giau-chi. Chang says that it seems to be generally agreed that Kattigara was on the north-eastern coast of Annam though there is disagreement as to exactly in what part of that region it was to be found (154, p. 3); that is to say, that it was in Je-nan. But Pelliot (129, p. 133) says that Kiao-tche (Giau-chi) or Tongking was the terminus-point of the navigation where the envoys who said that they came from Marcus Aurelius disembarked in A.D. 166; Rawlinson thinks that

Kattigara is probably Kiau-chi in Tongking (33, p. 136); Warmington thinks that the identification of Kattigara with Hanoi or Kiau-chi in the gulf and district of Tongking is perhaps right; Latourette (151, p. 129) says that the main port in the south was in Tongking; and Kuwabara takes the terminal point as Tongking (179, 2, p. 72). Ptolemy tells us that the road from the capital of the Sinai ran south-west to the harbour of Kattigara and since Giaui-chi was the northernmost commandery of the Chinese and Je-nan the southernmost it seems to us that Giaui-chi or Tongking suits best. Chinese records make it clear that the terminal point of the sea-route only moved to Canton much later. It is very clear that great wealth was pouring into the commanderies from the sea-trade because the *Hou Han Shu* speaks a deal of the avariciousness of the governors and the vast wealth which they acquired (179, 7, pp. 52-53).

We take Kattigara therefore, to have been in Tongking in which case the River Kattiaris would seem to have been the Red River.

Zabae is a problem to which the answer seems impossible. The only facts about the place are that it was the intermediate calling place between the Chersonese and Kattigara, that it was 20 days' sail from the Chersonese though from what part of that peninsula is not stated, and that ships sailings from Zabae went south and then more to the left to reach the coast of the Sinai.

Berthelot (53, p. 120) also quotes Ptolemy as saying that Zabae had a longest day of 12 hours and 15 minutes, the sun passing there twice a year at the zenith at $78^{\circ} 54'$ in the summer solstice each time. Ptolemy gave it a latitude of $4^{\circ} 55'$, or forty minutes north of Takola. Berthelot puts it near the present Bangkok; Gerini near the present Saigon; Yule identified it with Champa because of the name; and Warmington dubiously suggests that it was 'near the southern end of Cochin China'.

If only one could fit Ptolemy's physical data with the facts, it would be a great help. He mentions 3 gulfs—the Great Gulf, the Theriodes Gulf and the Gulf of the Sinai; 8 rivers—the Sobanos, the Daonas, the Dorias, the Seros, the Aspithras, the Ambastos, the Sinos and the Kattiaris; and 4 main divisions of land—the promontory at the beginning of the Great Gulf, the beginning of the Great Gulf on the coast of the Sinai, Cape Notion and the Cape of the Satyrs.

His main mountains are:—

Mt. Bepyron, whose extremities lie	..	148°, 34° and 154°, 26°
Mt. Maiandros, ,, ,, ,,	..	152°, 24° ,, 162°, 16°
Dabasa Range, ,, ,, ,,	..	162°, 23° ,, 166°, 33°
Mt. Semathenon, whose western end is		170°, 33°.

From these mountains most of Ptolemy's rivers flow. From Mt. Bepyron two rivers flow into the Ganges; from Mt. Maiandros descend the rivers beyond the Ganges as far as the Besyngas but the Seros River flows from Mt. Semathenon from two sources of which the most western lies $170^{\circ} 30'$, 32° , and the most eastern lies $173^{\circ} 30'$, 30° their confluence being at 171° , 27° .

From the Dabasa Range flow the Daonas and the Dorias, the former also running from as far as Mt. Bepyron; the positions which he gives for the two rivers are:—

Source of Dorias	$164^{\circ} 30'$	28°
Source of Daonas in the Dabasa Range..	162°	$27^{\circ} 30'$
Source of Daonas in Mt. Bepyron ..	$153^{\circ} 30'$	$27^{\circ} 30'$
Confluence	$160^{\circ} 20'$	19°

The River Sobanos flows from Mt. Maiandros, its source being $164^{\circ} 30'$, 28° .

Of the rivers in the country of the Sinai Ptolemy tells us that the source of the Aspithras lies in the eastern part of Mt. Semathenon 179° , 16° ; that the source of the Ambastos lies 179° , 15° but he says nothing else about it; that the source of the Kattiaris lies 180° , 2° S. and that it breaks off from the Sinos at 179° , equator, but he does not say anything as to the source of these two rivers.

The Peninsula of Indo-China from which depends the Malay Peninsula is the daughter of its rivers. Three long chains of mountains descending from the Himalaya—Tibetan massif create four large basins where flow four great rivers, the Irrawaddy, the Menam, the Mekong and the Red River. The main vertebra of French Indo-China is known by the name of the Grand Cordillera which separates the upper basin of the Mekong from that of the Red River and the coastal basins of the Gulf of Tongking.

The main rivers besides the Menam, the Mekong and the Red River in the area beyond the Chersonese seem to be the Me-Klong in Siam, the Donnai or Dong-nai in Cochin-China, the Song Ma and the Song Ca in Annam.

The most notable Capes are, starting from the north, Cape Batangan, Cape Varella, Cape Padaran and Point Ca-mau or Cape Cambodia as we call it; and in the Gulf of Siam, Point Samit, Cape Liant and the bulge of land south of the Bay of Bandon after which there is Cape Patani in the Malay Peninsula.

If one takes the Sobanos as the Me-Klong one goes against Ptolemy's data as to its source. If one takes the Sobanos as the Menam, then all Ptolemy's positions seems to be wrong and what becomes of the Great Gulf? We do not wish to elaborate but merely suggest to the reader that he tries to fit Ptolemy's mountains, rivers and capes with actual facts, and we think that he will

agree with us that if Kattigara was in the Gulf of Tongking it cannot be done, still less if Kattigara were in Je-nan.

To us it is axiomatic that any identification to be logical must do justice (even though it only be very rough justice) to Ptolemy's data ; it cannot go against them. As Berthelot says (53, p. 391) "The mouth of the Sobanos could only be identified with that of the Menam by supposing a categorical mistake on the part of Ptolemy. That kind of supposition opens the field to all kinds of imagination".

In Ptolemy's list of places there are two which he dignifies by the name of capital or metropolis, Balonga and Kordathra both of which are on the coasts of the Great Gulf before the coast of the Sinai is reached ; between them lies the river Daonas. We know that according to tradition Funan was founded in the first century but we do not know where ; we also know that there was a Hindu State at Vo-canb which is identified with Champa. Each of these States presumably had a capital. It is obvious that Ptolemy's States were sea-faring ones since they had capitals on the coast and not up rivers or at river-mouths. Balonga on philological grounds is said to be the Cham Bal-Angwe which Gerini says means 'capital of Angwe', the latter being the Indian name *Anga* for Champa. The reader recollects Angadvipa in the Puranas. Kordathra, a variant for which is Kortatha, is generally taken to represent Kauthara and there was at one time a Kauthara in southern Champa. But neither of the places will fit Ptolemy's data as to the river Daonas, nor as to their occurring before the coast of the Sinai is reached.

As we have said, an identification must either fit reasonably with Ptolemy's data or else it must be rejected. It seems to us that Ptolemy's route beyond the Khersonese is impossible to follow upon that principle and therefore any identification is sheer guess-work.

One thing, however, seems clear, namely, that Ptolemy's misconceptions are such that they must affect his placing of the islands. This is what he says as to them :—

"The following islands are reported in the part of India already considered

Bazakata	144° 30'	9° 30'
Saline	147°	9° 20'

"It is said that in this island there are a large number of shell-fish and that the inhabitants always are naked and call themselves Aginnatai.

"There are also three cannibal islands, the Sindai : that in the middle is situated 152° 20' 8° 20' S.

"The island of the Good Spirit .. 145° 4° 15'

"The five Barousai islands, the inhabitants of which are said to be cannibals: that in the middle is situated $152^{\circ} 20' 5^{\circ} 20' S$.

"The Sabadibai, three cannibal islands; that in the middle is situated $160^{\circ} 8^{\circ} 30' S$.

"Iabadiou which means 'island of barley', it is said that this island is very fertile, that it produces a great quantity of gold and that it has a metropolis named Argyre, situated at its western extremity $167^{\circ} 8^{\circ} 30' S$.

"The eastern extremity of the island is situated $169^{\circ} 8' 10 S$.

"The three isles of the Satyrs; that in the middle is situated $171^{\circ} 6^{\circ} 10' S$.

"It is said that their inhabitants have tails like those which are attributed to the satyrs.

"It is reported also that there are ten continuous islands named Maniolai where it is said that ships using iron nails are held back, perhaps because these islands produce the stone of Heracles; also ships are constructed there with wooden pegs; they are inhabited by cannibals, called Maniolai, and that in the middle is situated $142^{\circ} 2^{\circ} S$."

How can we identify these islands? So far there is a great divergence of opinion and, we suggest, a considerable lack of logic. It seems to us that certain facts must be borne prominently in mind when one approaches the problem.

The first of these facts is that Ptolemy's main positions in Book VII all lie along *coasts*; he follows sea-routes and only after he has given coastal positions does he tell us about mountains and rivers, people and towns in the hinterlands.

The second is that the classic sea-route ran from the east coast of the Peninsula of India to the west coast of the Peninsula of Indo-China, *thence down the Straits of Malacca*, round the Malay Peninsula and onwards. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that there is absolutely no evidence for the use of the Straits of Sunda during the whole period with which this essay proposes to deal, that is, up to the 14th century A.D. These Straits came into use when cargoes were carried to Europe round the Cape of Good Hope and that did not occur until Portuguese times. The classic route used by Ptolemy's informants and described by the Chinese and Arabs ran always through the Straits of Malacca.

Berthelot does not appreciate these things in what he wrote about Iabadiou (53, pp. 406-7). He says that Java was the terminus of the route down the west coast of Sumatra and he says that Argyre was on the celebrated Straits of Sunda. Had he admitted what we have written above his placing of the islands must have differed.

The third fact is that Ptolemy's informants were mariners and merchants familiar with the coasts which he was describing and that his distances were derived from sailing distances given to him by these informants. Such distances must have been very variable but Ptolemy reduced them to a fixed 516 stadia per day.

The last fact is an immensely important one, namely that the ships sailed on monsoon winds which blow regularly.

Thus, Kuwabara says (179, 2, p. 36) "all ships, whether Chinese or foreign, being sailing ships, came to China with the south-west wind from the end of the fourth moon to the sixth moon, and the outgoing ships went with the north-east wind from the end of the tenth moon to the twelfth moon, so that the half year from May to October was the busiest time at the sea-ports". In a further note (ibid. p. 72) he shows how the monk I-Tsing in 671 A.D. and the Japanese prince Takawoka in 866 A.D. sailed from India respectively in the eleventh moon and the first moon. This meant that the ships left India on the north-east monsoon.

The ships from China on the return journey sailed on the north-east monsoon and must have sailed direct as coastal trade in the Gulf of Siam and on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula is only possible to sailing craft in the south-west monsoon.

Horsburgh's *India Directory*, 1827, is a most useful book to consult though one must bear in mind always that Horsburgh was writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the general facts as to winds and tides would be the same in Ptolemy's time as in Horsburgh's, we think, though the ability of the ships to take advantage of them would be entirely different.

The south-west monsoon prevails outside of Acheen Head from April to October and seldom blows far into the Straits of Malacca but being obstructed by Sumatra it frequently causes stormy weather in the Straits, and south-east and southerly winds prevail much, though they vary frequently in every direction. The Sumatras or squalls from southward are frequent in this monsoon, also northwesterners are more common than in the other season. Accordingly the north-east Monsoon is the fair season throughout the Straits and so was the trading season on the west coast of the Peninsula just as the south-west was on the east coast.

Horsburgh says that 'ships can proceed through the Straits in both monsoons, whether bound to the northward or southward; but those going to the northward, generally make the quickest passages, and sometimes get through, without anchoring above once or twice'.

In the Indian Ocean the north-east monsoon begins in October or early November and continues until April; this is the fair weather monsoon in the Bay of Bengal, the winds being more moderate and settled than in the other.

In the China Sea the south-west monsoon generally begins about the middle or end of April and continues to the beginning or middle of October, liable to an acceleration or retardation of 12 to 15 days in one season from another. It is at its strongest and least liable to changes in June, July and August. The north-east monsoon frequently begins in the northern part of the China Sea about the end of September or early in October ; but in the southern part of this sea it seldom sets in steadily until November. It reaches its greatest strength throughout the Sea in December and January abating in February.

The result of all this is that from October to April ships were converging upon the Malay Peninsula from India and from China, returning home during the remaining of the twelve months, while coastal trading proceeded most actively on the west coast from October to April and most actively on the east coast from April to October. The obvious result must have been a large transhipment trade and the creation of markets or entre-pots. Ptolemy gives us three such ; Takola on the west coast, Thipinobastai on the east and Sabara in the extreme south. Moreover, cross-routes over the Peninsula capable of being used for the transport of goods would have been very useful and, as we have seen, there were such.

A day's run coming down on the strong north-east monsoon from China would bear no relation to a day's run in the Straits of Malacca or in the Gulf of Siam on coastal trade ; but Ptolemy as we have just noticed reduced them all to one average of 516 stadia. His positions suffered as a result and this must be borne in mind in connection with the islands particularly.

Turning now to these islands we make the proposal that they were mariner's islands and not landsmen's. They were islands that were mentioned in connection with a sea-route and not because they were otherwise important. It must be obvious that Ptolemy's informants were familiar with hundreds of islands beyond the ones mentioned by Ptolemy. Why then did Ptolemy only mention the few he did ? Because they were nautically the most important seems to us the only answer that is fair to Ptolemy and his informants.

It is generally taken that Bazakata, Saline, the Good Spirit and the Maniolai are the Andamans and Nicobars. Thus Berthelot identifies Bazakata and Saline with the Andamans, the Maniolai with the Nicobars and the Good Spirit with Car-Nicobar ; Gerini identifies Bazakata with the main Andamans, Saline with Car-Nicobar, the Maniolai with the Nicobars and the Good Spirit with the Great Nicobar. The Andamans and Nicobars are obviously what we term mariner's islands and when the voyage across the Bay of Bengal was being explained to Ptolemy these islands must have been mentioned ; the more southerly of the Nicobars would be out of the sailors' route though not entirely unknown to them

and this will probably explain the way in which Ptolemy introduced the Maniolai islands and his language concerning them. It is, however, curious that Ptolemy named the Good Spirit between the Sindai and the Barusai. In Renou's edition it is not stated whether the latitude given was north or south ; in McCrindle (180) the positions are $145^{\circ} 15'$, equator.

Except for the Good Spirit the rest of the islands form an arc round the Chersonese. We should expect Ptolemy to mention such islands as were the most important or outstanding sailor's marks in the Straits of Malacca and between the Chersonese and Indo-China ; and it can be argued that in fact he did so. Our suggestion will at least produce something logical which we think has not been offered by those others whose explanations we have seen.

Berthelot identifies the Sindai with the Batu Islands off Sumatra ; the Barousai with Barus in Sumatra saying that Sumatra was long thought to be a group of islands ; the Sabadibai were southwest of Sumatra near Bengkoelen ; the Satyrs were Bangka and Billiton with a fragment of Sumatra as the third island ; Iabadiou he says is obviously Java.

Gerini gives the Sindai as the Pogy (Pagi) islands off the west coast of Sumatra at Indrapoera ; the Barousai as the Nias islands off the west coast of Sumatra at Barus ; the Sabadibai (which word he says is the same as Saba-dvipa) are the Si-Berut group off the west coast of Sumatra ; the Satyrs are the Great Anambas or Siantan group ; and Iabadiou is for Gerini Sumatra and emphatically not Java.

McCrindle (180) cites Lassen who says that the northernmost of the Sindai islands " must be Pulo-Rapat, on the coast of Sumatra, the middle one the more southern, Pulo-Pangor, and the island of Agatho-Daimon one of the Salat Mankala group ". Agatho-Daimon is, of course, what we have called the Good Spirit. McCrindle thinks that it could not have been one of the Sindai islands as Lassen asserted. For the Barusai he gives Yule's explanation that they were the Nicobars. Of the Sabadibai he says that the latter part of this name represented the sanskrit *dvipa* and that they are probably " those lying east from the more southern parts of Sumatra ". Iabadiou he takes to be Java and says that Mannert took it to be Banka. Of the Satyrs he says that Lassen took two of them to be Madura and Bali, the third being probably Lombok. Yule thought them to be connected, as also the Sindai, with the islands of Sondur and Condur. Yule thought that " it would not be difficult to show that Ptolemy's islands have been located almost at random, or as from a pepper-caster ".

And that, indeed, is how they must have been located if the identifications we have set out or any of them were correct. But why should such a thing ever have happened ? If Ptolemy could

describe the route with reasonable accuracy as far as the country of the Leistai, why should he be so absurd as to give us islands off the west coast of Sumatra and either Java or else Sumatra in an impossible position? Is it not the explainers and not Ptolemy who have located the islands as from a pepper-castor?

Bunbury (55, II, pp. 608, 643-4) has some observations as to Iabadiou which are worthy of note. At p. 608 he writes:—"It is strange also that no indication appears to have reached the ears of Ptolemy of the vast archipelago of islands—many of them of very large size—which so closely adjoined the Malay peninsula to the East. He has indeed the names of several islands in these seas, but none of them of any considerable size, except one to which he gives the name of Iabadiou or Sabadius (the reading is uncertain), which he represents as two degrees of longitude in length, and describes as very fertile and containing abundance of gold, with a capital city named Argyre (or the Silver City) as its western extremity. This has been generally identified with Java, but the resemblance of name is dubious, and the other statements concerning it would certainly apply better to Sumatra. It appears indeed absolutely incredible that he should have been acquainted with the smaller and more distant of these two great islands, and have had no information concerning the larger one, which is so much closer to the Malay Peninsula".

He carries his argument further in the Appendix at pp. 643-4, and concludes "It seems not improbable that in this case, as in several others, he mixed up particulars which really referred to the two different islands and applied them to one only; but it is strange that if he had any information concerning such islands as Sumatra and Java, he should have no notion that they were of very large size, at the same time that he had such greatly exaggerated ideas of the dimensions of Ceylon".

It is noteworthy that philologically Iabadiou is not the equivalent of Yava-dvipa but is evolved from Yavadivu, a prakrit form; yet when Ptolemy wants to render the sanskrit *dvīpa* he does so by using *dibai* or *diba*, as in Sabadibai and Nagadiba. It seems, however, to be quite clear that his note as to Iabadiou is a rendering of what the Ramayana says as to Yava-dvipa.

✓ We suggest that there was no need for Ptolemy to have mentioned either Sumatra or Java but that an omission of Borneo would be extraordinary. The route, it must be remembered, was from Palura on the west coast of India to Sada in Lower Burma and then down the Straits of Malacca. Sumatra does not come into that at all and coasting down the Straits it would either have been invisible or a mere low and faint silhouette on the horizon. Sumatra was only important to ships that sailed across from Ceylon and Ptolemy's did not. Java again was far away since Ptolemy's route went round the Malay Peninsula and up the

east coast. Sailing on the northeast monsoon from Tongking to the Chersonese, however, knowledge of Borneo is inescapable and directly such voyages began the great island must have been known, for many ships must have been blown there out of their course while many others must have gone down there deliberately.

We are dealing with an arc of islands round the Chersonese the east end of which is more northerly by $2^{\circ} 10'$, Ptolemaic, than the west. The islands at the east end are the Satyrs and one correlates them with the Cape of the Satyrs in the country of the Sinai. As Berthelot says (53, p. 414, n.) the Cape of the Satyrs is so-called because on Ptolemy's map it comes opposite the Isles of the Satyrs. Since Ptolemy has gone all wrong in his exposition of the countries beyond the Khersonese, one must, to get any idea of the real facts, take his country of the Leistai and bend it up north, pushing his Great Gulf round and bending it up north again when the country of the Sinai is reached. If this is done, then the arc of islands must also be pulled up north some Ptolemaic degrees. We shall then get an arc of islands which we can place logically and with little difficulty.

The Satyrs become the Natunas and Iabadiou becomes Borneo or rather the western coast of Borneo from about where Brunei is to Cape Api facing the Api passage. Ptolemy's informants would either know nothing about the real shape of Borneo and its eastern coasts or else have told Ptolemy merely about the coast which they used. We notice that the name Saba is connected in present maps with the north-eastern part of the island in British North Borneo; and that Saban is a tribal name amongst the Muruts (11, i p. 35) while one of the principal Chiefs of the Madangs is or was called Saba Irang (11, ii p. 286) but we draw no inferences at all from these facts.

Ptolemy quite clearly puts Iabadiou *east*¹ and south of the Chersonese and the maps in the last part of this essay show how the islands lay according to his positions. Moreover, the *western* extremity of Iabadiou was 20 minutes *south* of the eastern according to Ptolemy. That will not fit Java at all but it does fit the part of Borneo which we have given. To us it seems that Ptolemy's data fit Borneo but not Sumatra or Java.

The next nearest islands are the three Sabadibai. The name should be noted because if Ptolemy's name was Sabadiou or Sabadius,² then Sabadibai is in keeping and Sabara or Sabana the most southerly point of the Chersonese is again in keeping. According to Ptolemy the centre of the Sabadibai was in the same latitude as the west end of Iabadiou but 7° west of it. The

¹The easternmost position on the Chersonese is Kole $164^{\circ} 20'$, whereas Iabadiou is 167° at its western extremity and so just over $2\frac{1}{2}$ Ptolemaic degrees (125 geographical miles) east of the Chersonese. R.B.

²Or Zabadiou as Coomaraswamy notes it in the passage cited *supra* p. [18]. R.B.

longitudinal position is the same as that of Sabara and we must therefore look for islands which will agree roughly with the position of Sabara and the Api Passage ; we find ourselves in the Rhio Archipelago which is exactly where we ought to be, for that is where one of the sea-routes would go. It is, of course, true that Ptolemy's 7° west or 350 miles is much too far ; but his positions must be rejected for any except general directional purposes.

The next islands are the three Sindai, the middle of which was 10 minutes north of the Sabadibai but 7° 80' west of them. They are followed by the five Barousai in the same longitude as the Sindai but 3° north of them. Both sets of islands are west of the Chersonese. In their Ptolemaic positions they correspond with no actuality but they do correspond generally with the Carimon Islands² and the Five Islands as the Chinese at first called Malacca from the islands opposite it. Both these sets of islands were and are essential landmarks for sailors in the Straits of Malacca.

To us it is inconceivable that Ptolemy's informants could have said nothing about the Natunas, Borneo, the Rhio Archipelago, the Carimon and the Five Islands. No mariner could ever have omitted them in describing the sea-route from east to west or the last two in describing the Straits of Malacca.

If Iabadiou were Borneo, then why did Ptolemy correlate it with the Yava-dvipa of the Ramayana ? Possibly because he learnt that Borneo was fertile and contained gold ; possibly because, as Bunbury suggests, he confused places ; or possibly because Borneo actually was the Yava-dvipa of the Ramayana. It certainly had a very definite gold history ; Hose and McDougall say that " in south-west Borneo there are traces of very extensive washings of alluvial gravels for gold and diamonds. These operations were being conducted by Chinese when Europeans first came to the country ; and the extent of the old workings implies that they had been continued through many centuries " (II, i, p. 17 ; see also i, pp. 28-9 ; ii, p. 306).

The problem presented by the identification of Iabadiou with Borneo is a much smaller one than that presented if either Java or Sumatra is taken. It is to us the only identification which makes sense of the islands and does justice to Ptolemy's intelligence, the positions which he gives and the facts of his sea-routes.

We have now finished the Pre-Funan part of our essay and have shown, we believe, that there are many gaps in our knowledge and many directions in which further research is not merely profitable but necessary.

(To be continued).

²Actually there are four islands in this group but they look like three. R.B.

APPENDIX.

VAYU PURANA Ch. 48.

Translated by Prof. N. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

- 1-10. South of Bhārata Varsa, beyond a distance of 10,000 yojanas by sea, there is a dvīpa—three thousand yojanas long and one third as broad. It is full of varieties of flowers and fruits. There is in that island a famous kula-parvata Vidyutvanta with many crests. There are thousands of rivers and tanks with clear and sweet waters. In the different parts of the mountain are towns where lived men and women in happiness. People there have long moustaches, are dark in hue, become aged 80 at the time of birth, live on roots and fruits like monkeys, and devoid of *ācāras* (religious observances) like cattle. That island is full of such men and manikins.
- 10-12. Round about are other islands spreading over twenty, thirty, fifty, sixty, eighty, a hundred, and a thousand yojanas; these are small islands scattered in groups, and collectively known as Barhinadvīpa.
- 13-18. There are six other provinces (pradesa) of Jambūdvīpa in different shapes. These are Anga dvīpa, Yama dvīpa¹, Malaya dvīpa, Sankha dvīpa, Kusa dvīpa, and Varaha dvīpa. Of these Anga dvīpa is of a large size and is full of different clans and groups of *mlecchas*, and contains many rivers, trees, forests and hills, famous for its mines of gold and coral, being near the salt sea. There in the midst of Nāgadesa is a mountain Cakragiri which contains a number of waterfalls and caves, and which touches the sea on either side with its extremities.
- 19-25. Yama dvīpa again is full of mines. The hill here is known Dyutimān, the source of rivers and of gold. In the same way Malaya dvīpa has mines of precious stones and gold, besides sandalwood and ocean mines. It is full of groups of *mlecchas* and has many rivers and hills. The hill here is Malaya and contains silver mines. The noble mountain is reputed as the Mahāmalaya. A second mountain (is there) Mandara by name, a beautiful hill with flowers and fruits resorted to by *devarsis* (Divine Sages). There is the venerable abode of Agastya revered by devas and Asuras. There is Kāncapada other than the Malaya hill, and it is the holy hermitage rich in kusa grass and soma. It is a veritable Paradise. In every parva it is said that Heaven descends here.

¹ Surely Yavadvīpa is meant. (Translator's Note.)

- 26-30. In the same way there is the Trikūta nilaya, in height many yojanas and full of charming caves and crests. On its top is the great city of Lankā with palatial buildings, ever contented and prosperous. Its area is 100 by 30 yojanas. It is the residence of great Rāksasas who can assume different disguises and who were defiant enemies of the devas. It is inaccessible to ordinary human beings. In front of that dvīpa and on the shore of the sea, there is a great Siva temple known as Gokarna.
- 31-33. Sankhadvīpa which is an *ekarājya* (under one monarch) has an area of 100 yojanas and is full of mlecchas. There is Sankhagiri which has a number of mines and is served by many holy men. From this the sacred river Sankha-nāgā takes its source. It is the residence of Nāga king Sankhamukha.
- 34-35. Kumudadvīpa is full of different flowers, villages, and mines. Here is the deity Kumuda who is the vanquisher of the wicked and who is a sister of Mahādeva.
- 36-40. Varāhadvīpa again contains many mleccha ganas (groups) and different other communities. There are a number of towns. It is noted for its wealth and prosperity and also for righteous men. It has a number of rivers, hills and forests. Here is Varāhaparvata, a tall and charming hill, full of caves and caverns and waterfalls. From it rises the great river Vārāhī, the holy river of good drinking waters. Here people worship Varāha Vishnu to the exclusion of other deities.
- 41-3. Thus are the six sub-dvīpas; the south of Bhārata dvīpa extends to a great distance. Thus this one varsa has a number of dvīpas, separated by sea and standing in groups. Thus has been told the extent of Jambudvīpa with its four mahādvīpas, the intermediate (antara) dvīpas, and the sub-dvīpas (anudvīpa).

PTOLEMY'S COASTAL POSITIONS BEYOND THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE.

Renou's edition of Book VII.

(with variants from McCRINDLE (180) in footnotes).

Chapter 2.

In the country of the Leistai :

¹ Smarade	.. .. .	(70K)	163° 30'	4° 50 N.
² Patrasa	.. .. .	(158K)	165°	4° 50 N.
³ Sobanos, mouth of the river..		(54K)	165° 20'	4° 45 N.

¹Long : 163°

²Pagrasa.

³Long : 165° 40'

¹ Thipinobastai, emporium	(52K)	166° 20'	4° 45' N.
Akadra	(54K)	167°	4° 45' N.
² Zabai, town	(106K)	168° 20'	4° 45' N.

In the Great Gulf :

³ Promontory at the beginning of this gulf	(66K)	169°	4° 15' N.
Thagora	(160K)	168°	6° N.
Balonga, metropolis	(88K)	167° 30'	7° N.
Throana	(125K)	167°	8° 30' N.
⁴ Daonas, mouth of the river ..	(118K)	167°	10' N.
⁵ Kordathra, metropolis	(236K)	167°	12° 30' N.
Sinda, town	(151K)	167° 15'	14° 20' N.
Pagrasa	(24K)	167° 30'	14° 30' N.
Dorias, mouth of the river ..	(111K)	168°	15° 30' N.
⁶ Aganagora	(121K)	169°	16° 20' N.
Seros, mouth of the river ..	(242K)	171° 30'	17° 20' N.
⁷ The beginning of the Great Gulf on the coast of the Sinai		170° 20'	17° 20' N.

Chapter 3.

The Sinai are bounded, on the north, by the part of Serike already indicated, on the east and south by an unknown land ; on the west by Trans-gangetic India, following the line already defined as far as the Great Gulf, by the Great Gulf itself and by the gulfs situated after it, which are called Theriodes and that of the Sinai where live the Ethiopian Ichthyophagoi,—according to the following contour :—

After the beginning of the Gulf
on the coast of India :

⁸ Aspithras, mouth of the river	(190K)	175° 30'	16° N.
⁹ Bramma, town	(600K)	176° 40'	8° 30' N.
¹⁰ Ambastos, mouth of the river.	(200K)	177°	10° N.
¹¹ Rabana, town	(118K)	177°	8° 30' N.
¹² Sinos, mouth of the river ..	(166K)	176° 20'	6° 30' N.
¹³ Notion, Cape	(224K)	176°	4° N.

¹Pithonobaste.²Long : 168° 40'³Long : 169° 30'.⁴Doanas.⁵Kortatha.⁶Aganagara.⁷The end of the Great Gulf towards the Sinai ; 173°, 17° 20'.⁸Aspithra, long : 170°⁹177°, 12° 30' N.¹⁰Ambastes ; 176°.¹¹Rhabana.¹²Sainos.¹³The Southern Cape ; 175° 15'.

¹ Theriodes, bottom of the Gulf		
of	(176K) 176°	2° N.
Cape of the Satyrs	(176K) 175°	equator.

And in the Gulf of the Sinai where live the Ethiopian Ichthyophagoi :

² Kattiaris, mouth of the river	(572K) 177°	7° S.
Kattigara, the anchorage of		
the Sinai	(118K) 177°	8° 30' S.

Dr. B. CH. CHHABRA.

[I submitted the type-script of this article to Dr. Chhabra and he very kindly sent me the following note in a hand-written letter. For reasons of type all the diacritical marks have had to be left out and also two sanskrit names.—R.B.]

“ You consider the name Kundunga of the grandfather of Mulavarman of Kutei (East Borneo), and seem inclined to identify it with Kaundinya. I also held the same view at first, but later I had to give it up. It is indeed very tempting to connect the word Kundunga with the word Kaundinya, considering the apparent phonetic resemblance between the two. We must, however, bear in mind that Mulavarman's inscriptions are all couched in pure Sanskrit and there is absolutely no justification for our assuming that the author of his inscriptions has employed the corrupt form Kundunga for Kaundinya. On the other hand, when we consider how well-versed he is in Sanskrit and how thoroughly familiar he is with the Vedic and Puranic literature as is evident from the inscriptions themselves, we can safely conclude that he should have used the right word Kaundinya, had this latter indeed been intended. It follows, therefore, that we have to accept Kundunga as the properly spelt name of Mulavarman's grandfather. There is, however, no doubt that the name in question has not the appearance of a Sanskritic one, and as such it stands conspicuous in all the four Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman. It has been conjectured by several scholars (and I have also pointed out in my essay “ Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule ”, J.A.S.B. Letters, vol. 1, p. 39) that Kundunga can be a Tamil name. In support of this view Prof. Krom cited a similar name Kundukura which is Tamil and occurs in one of the Pallava inscriptions.

“ In fact, you also observe that ‘ Kundunga seems to be a Tamil word ; ’ and ask ‘ can it be Kaundinya ? ’ from which it appears that you think that the Tamil people perhaps used the form Kundunga and meant thereby Kaundinya. In this regard,

¹The head of Wild Beast Gulf.

²Kottiaris, 177° 20'.

I have consulted Mr. N. L. Rao of our office, who is an assistant for inscriptions in Dravidian languages. He says that Kaundinya cannot become Kundunga in Tamil. Also he is unable to explain the word Kundunga, if it is Tamil at all.

" Personally I am inclined to treat Kundunga as a Tamil word or at least one of Tamil origin. Besides Kundukura which has been quoted by Prof. Krom, I may cite two more which are still more similar to Kundunga : (1) " Kadungon " is the name of a Pandya King, roughly contemporaneous with Kundunga. (the word Kadungon means, I am told, ' great king ', *kadu* = great, *kon* or *gon* = King). The reference may be found in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, pp. 293, 295, 297 and 306. (2) In the Hira-hadagalli Prakrit Inscription of the Pallava King Sivaskandavarman (*Epi. Ind.* vol. I, p. 6.) a word 'Kodumka' occurs in line 8 of the text in an expression *Chillareka-kodumkabhojakabamhanam*. The meaning is not quite clear to me, though it has been translated as ' the garden in Chillarekakodumka, belonging to the *brahmanas* '. The word occurs several times in the inscription.

" I may add that the reading of the name is definitely *Kundunga*. Prof. Kern, first read it as *Kundanga* which the Dutch scholars transcribe as *Kundangga*. Prof. Vogel later showed the correct reading *Kundunga*.

" In this connection the same Mr. N. L. Rao as spoken of above has given me another piece of information, which deserves consideration : " Kudugu is the mediaeval name for Coorg near Mysore. The province is now known as Kodagu and its inhabitants as Kodaga." He adds that the dropping of the nasal letters from Kundunga is possible, and may be this latter is the same as modern Kodaga. In this case, however, the word Kundunga cannot be a proper name but an adjective, meaning ' inhabitant of Kundungu or Kudugu ' ".

R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

Early Kedah.—It is well that attention should be drawn to the traditional history of this ancient State. Just as the legends of the Malay Annals go back a thousand years to the beginnings of Palembang history so also the folklore of Kedah may take us to the founding of the still more ancient " Langkasuka ". But does it ?

There are two versions of the Kedah dynastic Annals. One, the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*, used by Col. Low and Dato' Braddell, places the conversion of Kedah to Mohammedanism at about A.D. 1474, speaks of seven reigns of non-Moslem rulers bearing Indo-Chinese titles, and tells us that the founder of the line was an ambassador from " Rum " (the Eastern Roman Empire) to China. The other, the *Tarikh Silasilah of Che Hasan* (J.M.B.R.A.S. XIV pt. iii), gives nine non-Moslem rulers with

Sanskrit titles, puts the conversion at before A.D. 1179 and says that the first ruler was a prince from "Gumrun in Persia", *i.e.* Gambroon, a port on the Caspian. The difference is great. Let us now take the known facts.

Northern Malaya in 1006 A.D. was ruled by a certain Maravi-jayottungavarman, son of Cudamanivarmān, king of Kataha (Tamil Kidara) and Sri Vijaya (Negapatam Inscription). There is no name remotely like these two in either Kedah list.

In 1030 A.D. the Tanjore Inscription records the victories of Rajendracola I over the king of Kadaram and Sri Vijayam, the king's capture and the taking of Kidaram and Langkasuka. There is no mention of this war in the Kedah traditions.

In the middle of the thirteenth Century, Candrabhanu, another ruler of Northern Malaya, invaded Ceylon, annexed part of it and exacted tribute. This is attested by Tamil and Ceylon records, some being dated; and it is supported by an inscription in Siamese Malaya (Jaiya) mentioning this ruler and dated 1230 A.D. There is nothing of all this in either Kedah history although Che Hasan puts the conversion to Moham-medanism at before 1179 A.D.

At some date about A.D. 1360 or 1370 Langkasuka, Kedah and Terai were captured and destroyed in the Majapahit War and Langkasuka disappears (as a name) from history (Nagara Krtagama). There is no mention of this in the Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa although Langkasuka is given as the residence of Marong Mahawangsa and his successors.

What then are we to believe?

Kidara or Kataha may not have been our Kedah though it must have been situated in Northern Malaya, Coedès is doubtful about its identity; our last authority (J. L. Moens in the Batavian Society's Journal, 1937, pt. iii) denies the identity altogether. Kedah in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must however have been part of the Kataha-Sri Vijaya Empire, in which case it would have been a small dependency with hereditary Chiefs of its own. Those Chiefs may be the traditional early rulers. The founder of the line may well have been an immigrant from Gambroon, whom his descendants would exalt as a "prince" or "ambassador", just as the Malacca *bendahara* family traced back to an imaginary *baginda mani purindam*. After the fall of their suzerain the Kedah Chiefs would be left really independent so that we can understand the Raja of Kedah seeking recognition of his royalty from Sultan Mahmud of Malacca. If we wish to believe the literal truth of the traditions we may suppose that the early Chiefs were personally Moslems coming originally from Gambroon; that they bore Sanskrit (Sri Vijaya) and Indo-Chinese (Ligor) titles; and that the conversion of the whole State to Islam occurred in 1474 A.D.

All this only adds to the interest of the folk-lore. Who were the cannibal *Gërgasi*? Who was the tusked raja (*raja bersiong*) who reverted to cannibalism?

Marong is Indo-Chinese and means "dragon" (see my Dictionary, s. v. *kop*). Marong Mahawangsa cannot possibly have been the name of the founder of the very ancient Langkasuka; but names mean little. Tradition has it that Langkasuka was founded about A.D. 115. The early rulers were Buddhists. Local tradition insists that the still earlier inhabitants of the country were fair and were cannibals, *gërgasi* or *batak*. The operatic *ma'yong*, for instance, is said to have been taken from certain "white *batak*"; and we know that the modern *Batak* are cannibals. But the *Batak* tradition is found in other parts of the Peninsula and need not connote cannibalism; it may only have suggested it. Probably the early Indian traders found in Kedah a fair aboriginal population who had attained already to a substantial degree of culture.

Old Names.—Dato' Braddell's article raises the question of the accuracy of names hitherto accepted for certain localities. Javadvipa or Iabadiou, for instance, he identifies with Borneo and not Java. Mr. J. L. Moens goes much further. He denies that Palembang was ever Sri Vijaya, he places Kataha in Java in the seventh and eighth centuries and on the Johore Estuary in the tenth; he locates Langkasuka in Ligor in the second Century and in Kedah much later; he says that Jababhumi "as a rule" is not our Java. All this sounds paradoxical but is supported by a wealth of learned reasoning. Are we to revise all our identifications?

Caution is necessary. There is no actual proof that Javadvipa is Java in every single case. The great Javanese prince Erlangga styled himself *Yavadviparaja* (Moens, p. 410) and there are old inscriptions calling the island Java in Java itself. The name, indeed, survives to the present day as Java. But it seems to have been used loosely. Our "Sumatras" are called by Malays *angin Jawa*; written Malay is *Jawi*; Indian Moslems born in Malaya are *Jawi-përanakan*; Candrabhanu, the invader of Ceylon, figures in India and Ceylon as a *Javaka* or *Savaka* ruler. A few writers speak of Java as Java Major and of Sumatra as Java Minor. As for Dato' Braddell's "millet" or "barley" dispute, millet in Java-Malay is *jawawut*.

It should be remembered that to Malays Sumatra and Java are not "islands" (*pulau*). They are too large for that and are styled *tanah*. And as they were never political units they could have had no very definite Malay names. To foreigners they were even vaguer. To Chinese Selangor is Klang and Singapore Selat; and I have known a Malay describe Sultan Abdullah's banishment to the Seychelles as *përgi Bombe sa-bëlah sana nëgëri*. Terms like Java-dvipa and Suvarna-dvipa could only have been

known to the learned and would mean little even to them so long as they were innocent of maps. Names of States and townships stand in a different category; they are more definite. Malay States were usually river-states and were named popularly after the rivers, though conquest might extend them and though a State commonly had an honorific name of its own; Kedah is *darul-aman*, Selangor is *darul-ihsan*, etc. These last names are modern. The royal residence or capital had also an honorific name, e.g. Siak Sri-Indrapura, but a change of capital meant a change of honorific, witness the Perak villages of Brahmana Indra, Pulau Indra Sakti and Bukit Chandan Sri Andalan. Was Sri Vijaya the honorific name of a town or of a State? Probably it was the name of a town; the distinction drawn by the Arab Haraki (A.D. 1132) between Zabaj (the State) and Sarbaza (the town) bears this out, as also the title of "King of Kataha and Sri Vijaya", when the former was the mightier and the latter the more time-honoured title. It is rather unlikely that names shifted from place to place as much as Mr. Moens would have us believe.

How much importance are we to attach to Malay myths and tradition? Mr. Moens gives some reasons for thinking that the first Sri Vijaya was Kelantan and that there was a second at Muara Takus in Central Sumatra. He may be right: as a Malay jurist once said, "When the facts are obscure the reasons for my decision must also be somewhat obscure". But Malay tradition is all in favour of Palembang as the first seat of the ancient Empire. The author of the Malay Annals who records the tradition could not have known that a Sri Vijaya inscription of A.D. 684 (the oldest in Sumatra) would be dug up in the twentieth Century at Palembang along with a colossal Buddha and other traces of former greatness; that the Palembang township was near the Bukit Si-guntang-guntang on which "Sang Sapurba" built his palace; and that a party of British officials who climbed Mount Dempo in the days of Raffles would find its summit haunted by the ghosts of Demang Lebar Daun and other figures of the *Sejarah Melayu*. Surely there is something in so persistent a tradition.

Langkasuka is in a different category. In A.D. 1360 it was a port on the East Coast of the Peninsula and was destroyed by the Javanese of Majapahit. Could it at about the same time have been on the West Coast and the capital of Kedah? The *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* was written (even in its earliest form) at a much later date when the exact facts had been forgotten and the rulers of Kedah would be glad to claim descent from the ancient magnates who reigned at Langkasuka. Langkasuka itself was—and probably always was—Ligor.

Correction.—In the last part of my essay (p. 63), the reference by Mr. W. Linehan to the "early centuries A.D." should read the "Middle or Late Bronze Age."—R.B.

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SUGGESTED ORIGIN OF THE MALAY KERIS AND OF THE SUPERSTITIONS ATTACHING TO IT

By G. C. GRIFFITH WILLIAMS.

Writers on the history and customs of the brown inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago have frequently drawn attention to the beautiful Malay dagger known as the Keris, and have written much regarding its method of manufacture and the customs regulating its use ; and they have also recorded the traditions of its origin, and the superstitions concerning it that they have been able to learn from Malay and Javanese sources. But, though a great deal of careful investigation has been done and much written, no satisfactory theory has yet been propounded to explain either the origin of the weapon or the reasons for the crop of strange superstitions that has grown up around it. Scholars have so far been unable to give any explanation why a weapon, contemptuously spoken of by Crawford as a "trifling ineffectual dagger", (a) has acquired in Malay countries a sanctity and reputation for magical properties not accorded to sword or spear, though both these weapons are considered by the best informed Malays to be more ancient.

This paper is an attempt to throw some light on the origin of the weapon and to suggest a reasonable explanation for much of the magic and superstition associated with it.

Until little more than quarter of a century ago the Keris was in general use amongst Malays, Javans, Bugis and other kindred peoples, who wore it very much as an article of dress. It was remarked by Raffles that the Javans of his day carried it in much the same way as Europeans did the rapier during the 18th Century. (b) The Malay races have maintained a more or less close contact throughout the ages ; they are closely related in blood, have common ideals and a common culture, and their language, though split up into dialects, has provided them with a common speech. It was natural therefore, that the use of the Keris should not be confined to its home of origin but be disseminated throughout the Malay world.

On account of the great variety of poniards and daggers in the Malay Archipelago, with features in common and classed as Kerises, it is necessary, as a preliminary step, to show as nearly as may be from tradition, history and natural probability, what forms of Keris met with today correspond most closely to the pattern originally employed. The Kerises manufactured and used by the inhabitants of Java, Sumatra, Celebes, and other islands respectively are of many different patterns, and differ from those forms met with on the Peninsula. For example, according

to Raffles, the Javanese differs from the Malayan in being much more plain as well in the blade as in the handle and sheath. (c) Raffles was able to illustrate forty common kinds of blade of Javanese make, and stated that there were said to be over a hundred varieties differentiated. Likewise in the Peninsula and on other Malay islands many types are met with ; and they all show marked local characteristics. It is clearly impossible therefore to point to any particular one, out of the endless number of varieties distinguished and say that that one is of the original pattern, or even of the kind most like the original pattern.

In order to arrive at some standard of comparison and simplify the inquiry, it is essential to ignore all superficial differences in decoration and the like, since they are either of later development or of purely local significance. Handles and sheaths, being easily changed from one weapon to another, and exhibiting great local differences, need not be taken into consideration. Nor is decoration on the blade, such as pamur (damask) or carving or fretwork of any help in the investigation as it is superficial, and at best merely serves to identify the blade as the product of a particular country or locality ; it is probably also a more or less late development. The two basic elements to be considered are the size and the shape of the blade, particularly the size. The method of forging is the same as that employed in most Malay weapons, when the object is to give the blade rigidity and strength, and therefore does not require to be noticed here. The slight local differences in methods of forging influence the patterns of decoration only and do not materially affect the structure of the blade.

Though the scope of the inquiry is now considerably reduced there remains the problem of deciding, from the Kerises of innumerable shapes and sizes extant, which blades, judged by shape and size alone, are most archaic in type. The question of shape need not detain us long, as there is no reason to believe that the earliest Kerises were exactly alike or that Malay armies used weapons of one pattern like the rank and file of a modern infantry battalion ; in fact we know that the reverse was the case. Further, the method of forging Keris blades is against the probability of two weapons indistinguishably alike ever being manufactured even by the same smith. Judging from those in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, whose history goes back to about the year 1600, (d) Keris blades do not seem to have changed appreciably in the last three centuries. One may therefore assume that, thanks to the conservatism of the Malay race, noticed by Crawford, (a) the general form of the Keris, which in 1600 was in all essentials the same as today, had not changed to any marked extent for centuries before that date. This assumption is indeed verified by the representations of Keris blades, easily recognisable, which are found carved on some of the later Hindoo temples of Java (e)—It seems probable then that the general appearance of the blade

and the curiously inefficient method of attaching to it a handle are the same as in the earliest forms of the weapon.

The weight of probability is decidedly in favour of the most normal blade in size and shape being most like that originally forged ; and it is likely that the earliest blades were utilitarian rather than decorative. In almost every popular article made by man for his use there are extreme kinds produced to satisfy exotic taste or suit particular requirements ; but, as extremes in size and shape are not generally encountered it is reasonable to assume that they were never common, but were manufactured for special purposes only. The greatest variation was in decoration, which is not being considered in this paper.

If attention is to be focused on the normal, such monstrosities as the sword-like Keris or rather the Keris-like sword of Borneo (the Sundang) and the Keris panjang or execution Keris of the Peninsula, of which the history is known, (f) (g) must be disregarded. Many other smaller weapons have been made after the same design as Keris panjang, with long narrow blades, but they too seem only to have been made and used in Sumatra and the Peninsula, and to be comparatively recent in date. Occasionally also diminutive Kerises are met with, delicate weapons designed perhaps for ladies of the Court or infant sons of Rajas ; these would be of little practical use and could not have been early types.

The great majority of blades are either straight or have nine or less waves. The usual size of the blade is about 14 to 17 inches long from *ganja* to point, with a width at the *ganja* of from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. A weapon corresponding to these measurements and with a flat tapering blade, straight or with nine waves or less will be taken as normal, and, consequently, as approximating most closely to the prototype of all the Kerises of the Archipelago. An important characteristic of the normal blade is that it is not firmly joined to the handle, but has a round projecting piece of iron at the butt end, which is known as the "*paksi*", on which the handle fits. The handle is easily removable. At the junction of the blade and the handle is an ornamental ferrule or washer, called the "*penongkoh*", which slips over the *paksi* and fits more or less loosely over the base of the handle.

All the most popular Kerises, that is the ones considered most honourable and most lucky for the possessors, seem to comply with the requirements of the normal Keris, as also do the oldest in existence with a known history—those in the Ashmolean Museum, which closely resemble many met with at the present time. Two kinds very popular among Malays, namely Keris Sempana and Keris Sapukol, (h) can be classed as normal ; the former has a wavy and the latter a straight blade. The Keris called "*Pasopati*", (b) said by Raffles to be traditionally the

earliest form of Keris, and to be common in Java in his time, is also normal in size and shape; an illustration of it together with other common varieties of Javanese Keris is given in Raffles History of Java. Besides the particular types mentioned, there are very many kinds differing greatly in decoration, but all coming within the limits set in size and shape for the Keris herein designated normal. The suggestion therefore that the normal Keris is likely to be the most archaic in type is supported by tradition, and also by the popularity of certain particular kinds; since their popularity would seem to have had its origin in their efficiency and perhaps in the lucky qualities superstitiously credited to those kinds of weapon in remote antiquity. Having defined what is to be taken as a normal Keris, and having shown that among Kerises the normal is probably the earliest in type, it has now to be considered whether the Keris is older than other Malay weapons or *vice versa*.

Quite apart from any magical properties the Keris was believed to possess, it was regarded from time immemorial as an effective weapon by all the Malay races, and treated with a respect that Europeans, such as Crawford, are inclined to regard as unwarranted. Neither sword nor spear has in Malay belief an equal power of doing mischief; and if it were not looked upon as a serviceable weapon of war rather than a mere "ineffectual dagger", (a) it would never have been credited with magical properties. Further, it is almost invariably prowess with the Keris that is the chief claim to fame of the Malay hero, such as Hang Tuah. (i) In Malay stories of battles the champions always "amok" after drawing the Kerises; this is not out of bravado but in actual warfare where sword or spear would appear to most of mankind a more desirable weapon. And so one is forced to believe that the Keris must at one time have won its reputation as the most effective weapon of the Malay armoury.

Now Crawford thought that the sword was among Malays more recent in date than the Keris and that the use of the Keris had its rise in the scarcity and dearness of iron in a country where, unless imported, it must have been "scarcer and dearer than gold itself." "It is not to be supposed", he says "without a cause so adequate, that the Indian islanders any more than semi-barbarians acquainted with the use of iron, would have neglected the useful and formidable sword for the trifling ineffectual dagger." (f) Newbold disagrees with this, and points out that the sword is frequently found sculptured on ancient temples and stones in Java long prior to the Keris of the 15th century. He adds that both ancient and modern symbols of royalty used at the coronation of their Rajas and Princes are swords (rarely Kerises) of state, called "pedang Karajaan", often ornamented with jewels and richly inlaid with gold; and further that the Malays themselves say that among weapons the sword has the highest claims, to antiquity and the spear next. (j) McNair's comment on the Malay's belief is as

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follows :—" The earliest weapons of the Malays were after clubs in spite of their own opinions most probably spears of which the forest would yield an inexhaustible supply in the shape of bamboos ; which were hardened at the ends in fire, and then brought to a point and used in connection with a wooden shield or buckler. At the present time the spear is still a favourite weapon." (k)

It is beside the purpose of this paper to inquire whether sword or spear has the longer lineage. Crawford seems to have left the spear entirely out of consideration ; his remarks relative to the scarcity of iron, and that on this account the Keris is probably and older weapon than the sword would perhaps be a stronger argument in favour of the antiquity of the spear. Like the Keris the spear requires far less iron in its manufacture, and is, as McNair points out, in one form or another as old or older than the sword. Not only is the spear a favourite weapon but it has in the past been more commonly employed in Malay warfare than the sword.

The Malays are a riparian people who are not found commonly inland remote from sea or river. Water is the Malay's natural element, and in and on it is at his best. Now, the favourite of a people living on the water is almost inevitably the spear ; and the reason for this is not far to seek. It is the weapon most easily controlled in a small boat, and it can be used for killing things in the sea. Fish spears are common to all the island races of the Archipelago, and the skill acquired in handling a weapon for spearing fish and other aquatic animals is easily applied in fighting with men. There can be little doubt that of the coastal Malay at any rate, the spear would on this account have been the more popular weapon. The spear is a very old form of weapon, and whether older than the sword or not it seems probable that it is older than the Keris. But before passing judgment, the traditions relating to the origin of the Keris must be considered ; it is however significant that no traditions as to the origin of the spear are recorded.

There are many traditions of the origin of the Keris and the extension of its use mentioned by Raffles, Crawford, and others ; but these, except for attributing to it a Javanese origin, are contradictory. One tradition is that it was invented by the celebrated Javanese Prince and hero Panji, who flourished in the year A.J. 846 (approximately A.D. 921). (l) Another ascribes to it a divine origin—that it was introduced by an early Javanese king Sakutram (otherwise Sa Putram), who came into the world with a Keris Pasopati by his side. This kind of Keris was in the time of Raffles regarded as the most honourable. Crawford says that the most learned Javanese attribute its invention to Inakarto Pati, King of Janggalo, who lived about the beginning of the 14th century. It is at least certain that it was in use early in the 15th century A.D., as it is frequently found sculptured on temples of that period in Java. Perhaps the absence of representations of it on the older

temples, where, according the Newbold, swords are represented, (j) is negative evidence that it was either not known or at least not popular much before that time. It is significant that Javanese traditions exist with reference to its introduction ; there is no suggestion that its origin is hidden in the mists of antiquity. There are, according to Newbold, many traditions of its origin in Bali and Celebes ; (f) but these may have come from the Pandi, who, driven out of Java on the conquest of Majapahit, took refuge in the neighbouring islands. (m) It seems safe to assume, at any rate, that the Keris is not comparatively a weapon of great age. We know that even before the year 1,000 A.D., the spear with long metal point, was used by the warriors of the great Khymer power in Indo China, as it is shown in the bas relief representations of battles on the walls of the great ruined temples at Angkor. That there was contact between Khymer and Malay from very early times appears probable : not only are there many races in Indo China with a more or less high percentage of Malay blood and which speak Malay dialects, (n) but the religion of the Khymer and Malays was formerly the same, and the great temples of Angkor exhibit many striking architectural resemblances with those in Java and Bali. The Malays too were a great sea-faring race, and the long sea voyage to Indo China would not have deterred them from venturing thither if there was any chance of plunder or profit to be gained. It seems certain therefore that whether they then made use of the spear themselves or not the Malays must have been well acquainted with its use by other neighbouring peoples, at a very early date, and they were probably using a spear themselves with metal point at least as early as 1,000 A.D.

After the downfall of the Sumatran Kingdom of Palembang, which had from the 7th to the 13th century been the predominant power in the Malay world, and the centre of civilisation, the hegemony of the Malay Archipelago passed to the Javanese Kingdom of Majapahit, which destroyed Palembang and its colonies at Singapore and elsewhere. Majapahit continued to be the most important military power in that area down to the coming of the Arab missionaries and the conversion of the Malays to Islam. (o) It was in Java that Malay civilisation reached its height in Hindoo times, as is attested by the many ruins of magnificent temples ; and it is from Java that most of the traditions come respecting the introduction of the Keris. It is from there one would expect any new invention to emanate, as a new product or fashion from the seat of power and civilisation would be most likely to be adopted and copied in other Malay lands. Tradition regarding the distribution of the Keris also comes from Java. According to Raffles the Javans attributed the extension of its use in the islands to the celebrated Panji ; and thought that every country in which the Keris was then worn once acknowledged the supremacy of the Javans and got the custom from them. (b) Judging from the traditions and history of the Malay islands it seems logical to think Java the home of the Keris ; and this is in agreement with the expressed

opinions of the Sir Richard Winstedt and Mr. I. H. N. Evans. Perhaps one might tentatively suggest the 14th and early 15th centuries, as covering the date of its probable introduction, though it may possibly have been earlier. Arguing conversely if it originated in Java it is unlikely that it came into general use before Majapahit gained the ascendancy in the Archipelago which did not happen until at any rate the 13th Century A.D.

It should by this time be apparent that there is a strong probability that the spear is an older weapon than the Keris ; and this must indeed be so if it is to be shewn that the Keris developed out of the spear as seems probable. An examination of any normal Keris shows that it bears little resemblance to any other form of dagger ; nor is it like a knife, it is double-edged and the edges are too blunt and blade too thick for cutting ; it is built up of laminations of iron, its whole structure being designed to give it rigidity, so that it should answer the requirements of a stabbing not a cutting instrument. At first sight the blade appears lopsided ; it widens unevenly as it nears the handle ; one side of the *ganja* is short the other long. On closer inspection it is found that the handle and *penongkoh* (ferrule) are not securely fastened to the blade, but are easily detachable, and that in its correct position the bend of the handle is almost at right angles to the flat side of the blade. Anyone acquainted with Eastern daggers and knowing the care with which the handles are fitted to the blades, so as to be as fast and strong and immovable as possible, would on seeing a Keris for the first time, regard it as something abnormal. It is much bigger than the ordinary dagger ; is irregular in shape ; and has the appearance of being a medley of parts hastily fitted together for use as a temporary weapon in an emergency. And however beautiful the blade and artistic the *aring*, and however well-matched the handle, the weapon never altogether loses its appearance of incongruity. It does not look as if it had been invented as a separate weapon, but as if it were an adaptation of an existing weapon for use under certain particular conditions. The only weapon from which it could have been adapted or evolved is the spear, which is itself a stabbing weapon, and has like the Keris a detachable handle fitting onto a projection from the base of its metal head. It would not have developed out of the more modern patterns of Malay spear, seen in museums today, but out of some earlier type, in use many centuries ago, which has long become obsolete and, as such things do in damp tropical countries, disappeared altogether leaving no trace behind. There are indeed indications in some types of Malay spears extant that they have developed from an older pattern which may also have been the common ancestor of the Keris. Weapons change their forms in the course of time, and it is due to the conservatism of the Malay race, and even more to the superstitions attaching to it, that the evolution of the Keris was stayed, and no dagger with less primitive characteristics evolved to take its place.

The *dagu* or the short end of the ganja can, on this assumption, be accounted for as a deformity. At one time both ends of the *ganja* would have been approximately the same length, ending in points ; but if the Keris is, as postulated, a direct descendant of the spear, the reason for this deformity is explicable, and there is an explanation also of why the handle is so insecurely fastened to the blade. A metal spearhead was a thing of value, especially in a country where iron was scarce, but the long spear shaft was of little account being of wood and easily replaceable. A Malay warrior forced to flee might throw away the cumbersome handle of his spear, but he would, if possible, retain the valuable point. Perhaps having no further use of it as a spear, or being afraid of being caught with one, he would think of fitting to it a short handle and carrying it about with him, concealed in his sarong, as a weapon of defence. It is likely that in times of comparative peace, when spears were not required, the spearheads became employed as heavy daggers ; the more obsolete the spearheads the more likely to find employment. But it must not be forgotten that the fitting to them of short handles would not impair their value as potential spearheads. Very soon the long spearhead must have been found superior to the smaller Malay daggers, such as the *badi-badi*, *bladau*, and *tombok lada*.

A spearhead of the kind suggested, carried in the sarong, would be uncomfortable to the wearer, who would hammer down one of the ends of the ganja, or perhaps cut it off, so that it should not scratch his skin. When the popularity of the weapon increased sufficiently for it to be regarded as a separate weapon, the Pandi or smiths, would forge them in such a way that, with short side next to the body, they should be comfortable. This seems a reasonable origin of the *dagu*. Gradually the smiths would turn the deformity thus created into one of the most artistic parts of a well made weapon.

According to Crawford the word 'Keris' is derived from the Malay word 'karis' meaning simply a 'dagger' (*ph*). It was apparently not thought necessary to invent for the weapon a new name, as would most certainly have been done had it come into existence as a separate weapon by introduction from outside or independent invention.

During the period of transition, while the Keris known today was being evolved, it is likely that the antique spearhead became regarded as a convertible weapon, which might serve as spear or dagger as occasion required. The preservation of spearheads in the form of daggers may well have been made use of with advantage by chiefs wishing to arm their followers or dependants for purposes of war. In some such ventures the embryonic Keris may have won its reputation as an efficient weapon. It is interesting in this connection to note that the customary way of grasping it for attack is not very different from the way a man holds a spear, though it

is certainly not the usual way of gripping a dagger. The normal Keris blade would have been quite suitable in size for a spearhead ; and spearheads of wavy patterns are known. There seems no reason to think a wavy blade a special attribute of the Keris, any more than that the systems for measurement of weapons, laid down in Malay treatises, are solely applicable to them.

The real drawback to the use of a normal Keris blade as a spearhead is the slenderness of the *paksi*, which might be insufficiently strong to support the blade on a long handle. It may be that the *paksi* has gradually got thinner to facilitate the fitting to it of a Keris handle ; on the other hand perhaps it was on account of this weakness that the form of its prototype the archaic spearhead was changed. The *paksi* of the modern Malay spear is much stronger and more substantial than that of the Keris. The legend of the *todak* (sword fish) that attacked Singapore, related in the Sejarah Malayu, (*g*) refers without doubt to a foe armed with spears ; and the enemy's spears seem to have been subject to a grave defect, which ultimately enabled the defenders to get the better of them. This defect, which may have been a too slender *paksi* in conjunction with a wide and pointed *ganja*, perhaps led to a change being effected in the type of spear employed. The Malays, who are fond of giving nicknames, would be quite likely to dub their defeated enemies 'todak', a name not inappropriate in the circumstances.

To sum up there seems reason to believe that the general appearance of the Keris has not altered for several centuries, and that the most normal blade in size and shape met with today approximates most closely to the earliest in type. The Keris has has long been regarded as an effective weapon, and it claims a greater popularity, and has a more dreadful reputation, than any other Malay weapon. The spear seems to have been in use much longer than the Keris ; and it is likely that from an early type of spearhead the Keris known today has developed. This would account for the abnormality of its appearance ; and the foundation of its sanguinary reputation may have been laid in the period when the blade was regarded as transferable from Keris handle to spear shaft ; before its position as a spear was taken by one more modern and efficient. Everything points to Java as the home of the Keris, and to its beginning to come into use at a time when Majapahit was the strongest military power in the Archipelago.

PART 2.

There remains to be considered whether any explanation can be found to account for the strange fund of legend and superstition that has grown up around the keris, and for the awful and magical properties with which it is endowed. A keris to be good according to Malay opinion, in addition to possessing grace combined with

strength, should have either a particular reputation for luck or possess some external sign indicating that it is lucky. A Malay, in the days before the rule of the white man brought peace and regular government, and deprived him of the privilege or necessity of going about armed, included the possession of a good Keris with that of a good house and a good wife as one of the three things necessary to contentment. The mere possession of an efficient weapon to defend himself with would not have been enough ; it would have been inadequate to his needs in those lawless days, when treachery and murder were highly preferable to straightforward fight, as a means of getting rid of an enemy or acquiring by force another's property. And so the possession of a Keris that had a reputation for magical powers was not only a comfort to its owner, but may be also a deterrent to his enemy. Besides, the magic powers of the keris were believed to protect the owner irrespective of its actual employment as a weapon. A keris that had shed blood was regarded with a degree of veneration and attained a value not accorded to a new weapon however beautiful or efficient it might be ; and the more men it had slain the greater was the awe and respect in which it was held. At least one formula of measurement is said to have originated from an attempt to copy the proportions of a keris known to have been an instrument of revenge and death. (q) The strong belief in its magic powers suggests that it figured prominently at some remote period in Malay history. It is the weapon that protects its owner against the sudden and stealthy attack of a foe by rattling in its sheath ; it is the weapon to take on a trading expedition to insure success, or on a voyage to prevent accident. Newbold says of the Keris : " Malays do not prize their kerises entirely by the quantity of gold with which they may be inlaid, but more for their accurate proportions agreeably to measurement, which is laid down in their treatises on the subject, the damask on the blade, the antiquity and a certain lucky quality that they may possess either from accurate proportions, the damask, the having shed human blood ; or from supernatural endowment like the famous sword Excalibur. This property is termed 'betuah', which signifies literally 'exempt from accident', invulnerable. They believe the betuah in some cases imparts invulnerability to the possessor of such a keris, which is handed down from father to son and honoured as something divine." (h)

Assuming that the keris was during the 14th and 15th centuries emerging as a separate weapon, it would have been introduced into the world at a time when conditions were ripe for its development, and where a supernatural reputation likely to endure could easily have been acquired. It was during this time that Arab missionaries in Sumatra gradually succeeded in converting the inhabitants of that island and of Malacca, on the mainland, to Islam and were making a determined effort to do the same for the peoples of Java. That the conversion of that great and comparatively populous area, even after the defeat of its armies, was by no

means entirely peaceful can be realised by anyone with knowledge of Mohammedan and Hindoo struggles in India ; but it was, on the surface, at any rate, complete. Majapahit, the chief power in Java, was during the greater part of the 15th century the chief bulwark against Mohammedan incursion eastwards ; and it was not until 1475 A.D., when Majapahit at least fell before the victorious arms of Islam, that Hindoo Java joined her more westerly neighbour in accepting the faith of Allah and his prophet. The 15th century must have been one of incessant war, turmoil, and religious strife. The Javans prior to their conversion were, like the inhabitants of Bali at a later date, most fanatical inheritors of the Hindoo religion ; and though the conquered had to become perforce outwardly converts to Islam, the new faith did not go very deep ; and it much have taken generations before the bad feelings engendered by religious strife were wiped out and forgotten. Indeed many traces of the old religion remain even to the present day in the folk lore and superstitions of the Malays and in the 'Wayang Kulit' or shadow shows of Java and the Peninsula. Skeat writing of Malay superstitions says : " The evidence of folk lore, taken in conjunction with that supplied by charm books and romances goes to show that the greater gods of the Malay Pantheon, though modified in some respects by Malay ideas, were really borrowed Hindu divinities, and that only the lesser gods and spirits are native to the Malay religious system. (*r*) The old worship was very deeply rooted ; and though, as is always the case in religious wars, the vanquished would be inclined to regard the god of the victors as the more potent deity, many would still in heart remain attached to their old beliefs and seek revenge. It is against both tradition and probability that the zealous believers in Hindooism speedily abandoned the religion of their forebears and became whole-hearted converts to Islam.

Raffles relates that on the conquest of Majapahit, the Pandi, who were the workers in iron and the forgers of weapons, and were considered the strength of the Empire, were driven out and dispersed over the eastern districts of Java, Madura and Bali, forming separate establishments under their respective chiefs. (*m*) He further records a tradition that it was at this time that the custom of wearing the keris was introduced among the common people. That the makers of weapons were a very powerful community and strong adherents to the old belief seems certain, otherwise they would have been retained and converted to become a useful element in the new Mohammedan state ; as it was they were considered too dangerous. The action of expelling them from Java supports the view that though, by the overthrow of Majapahit the Hindoo cult received a great blow, it was by no means stamped out ; and it was at this time that, according to tradition, the keris began to be carried by the common people, probably on account of the danger of going unarmed at a time when anyone differing in religion was an enemy. A keris would be the ideal weapon to carry at such a time. No doubt there was many a bloody encounter

between adherents to the rival religions, and many an act of violence done by reason of which the reputation of the awful keris was enhanced ; so that one that had shed much blood or with which its owner had gained unexpected victory became credited with the quality of protecting its possessor or even of rendering him invulnerable. Perhaps from this time the keris took on an added sanctity ; and being blessed by the Hindoo gods became an instrument whereby vengeance was to fall on the followers of the Prophet. Long after the old faith had been obliterated Kerises retained their reputation of imparting invulnerability to their possessors ; and it is believed in at the present day. The powers formerly attributed to the Hindoo divinities became transferred to the Kerises, devoted to their service. As the faith of the Javans in their old gods diminished, so their faith in the magical properties of the Keris increased ; and when the Hindoo gods were relegated to the realms of mythology the Keris remained as a kind of fetish and last connecting link with the subverted cult.

In this connection it may be noted that Skeat in his book *Malay Magic* writes :—" The Malay Magician declares that Toh Batara Guru (under anyone of the many corruptions which his name now bears) was the all-powerful spirit, who held the place of Allah before the advent of Mohammedanism, a spirit so powerful that he could restore the dead to life, and to him all prayers were addressed." (r) This all-powerful spirit, according to Skeat, refers to Siva, the paramount god of the Hindoos. It was doubtless to him, though perhaps to other spirits as well, that prayers for assistance against followers of Islam were addressed and blessings invoked on the Keris for the protection of its owner. It seems likely that the powers of Siva were believed by process of transmutation to pass into the Keris that bore his name which thereupon became treated with the awe and respect due to fetishes, and honoured as something divine.

According to Raffles the Keris called " Pasopati " was the most honourable at his time ; and it is significant to find that Pasopati is an archaic name for Siva, the lord of death, the most dreadful and powerful of all the Hindoo gods ; (s) and it lends colour to the suggestion that the supernatural attributes ascribed to the Keris were acquired from the Hindoo deities.

Some corroborative evidence in support of the suggestion that the magic attributes of the Keris are derived from the old Hindoo divinities can be deduced from a careful consideration of Keris hilts or handles. These usually belong to certain conventional patterns, easily distinguishable. Occasionally unusual kinds are met with, but they are comparatively unimportant and need no special consideration ; sometimes birds heads particularly parrots, are shewn, but they are only on the more modern hilts, and are a recent development in decoration only, and have no connection with the conventional forms. The three kinds most

commonly met with in the Peninsula are the "Java demum", or "fever stricken Javanese", also known as "hulu sejok"; the "Hulu burong" or bird's head; and the "Hulu burong pekaka", or Kingfishers head. The latter is a local variety found exclusively in Kelantan, and perhaps developed out of the "Hulu burong" of which it is a caricature. Though, except on the Hulu burong pekaka the hilts rarely bear the complete representation of a face, they retain certain carved lines that suggest some form of a human figure. The Java demum hilt is perhaps the most common; occasionally old hilts of this type are seen, which have either a complete face and figure, with head and arms clearly defined, or else are sufficiently carved for anyone with a little imagination to fill in details of a stooping human figure. The majority are similar in shape but with the figure less clearly shown. The position is the same when other types of hilt are examined. These vary from a recognisable likeness of a human figure, to mere outlines, in which, without knowing from other figures what it is supposed to be like, it would be difficult to see the resemblance to anything human.

These figures have never been explained, (*d*) but the 'Hulu burong' and the 'Hulu burong pekaka', at any rate, seem to resemble some of the figure out of the Javanese wayang kulit; and would therefore be representations of some god or demi-god in other words some Hindoo divinity. It seems probable that the 'Java demum' figure was also in origin a hero or god out of the Hindoo pantheon. The hood over the head suggests a cobra, perhaps the naga, which was believed in some eastern lands—Indo-China—to be the protector of the soil, and to be inherent in the national ground. One of the Kerises in the Ashmolean Museum already referred to has a figure carved on the hilt, which Sir Richard Winstedt described as a representation of a demi-god out of the wayang kulit. (*d*) It seems to be a form of the hulu burong.

A careful comparison of the types of conventional hilt, though these are often modified slightly to agree to local pattern—for example the Java demum hilts made by the Bugis of Celebes differ from the same kind of hilts made in Malacca—shows that the vast majority of them follow the form and outlines of either the 'hulu java demum' or the 'hulu burong'; in fact a Malay today will name almost any hilt of conventional pattern as either one or the other of the two types. It is indeed clear that the conventional form of each was copied originally from a more archaic one, in which the human figure was more perfectly represented. If this were not so conventional patterns would never have developed which exhibited such strange and yet enduring forms.

Were it not to perpetuate some superstitious or religious figure, and to retain its use and potency without the outward semblance of a heathen image, the form would not have persisted unchanged in characteristics for so long a time. It would seem

that originally the hilts were carved to represent Hindoo divinities, perhaps the particular deity of each several Keris ; but that after the Malays or Javans had become Mohammedans, they were afraid to retain recognisable representations of the Hindoo gods on the hilts and yet were unwilling to do away entirely with the outlines of the figures lest they should impair the efficacy of their magic weapons. Even after their conversion to Islam the Malay peoples retained their belief in charms and had their magicians ; and their old gods after their supersession by Allah became lesser spirits more personal to mankind. They seem to have believed that the gods delegated their powers to the Kerises possessing their likenesses, or at any rate debased stylised representations of them. Owing to this cause the conventional forms of the hilts became established, and so durable that they have long outlived the memory of the purpose they originally served.

If this assumption is correct it seems probable that Keris pasopati usually had as a hilt a carved representation of Siva ; and since he was the most powerful of all Hindoo gods, it was natural that his keris should be regarded as the most honourable. Unfortunately no Keris hilt with his identifiable representation on it has so far been discovered ; but perhaps the forms he took were as diverse as his names.

To sum up, the magical properties attributed by Malays to the Keris, and the lucky qualities conferred by it on its possessor may date from the time of the Hindoo-Moslem wars in Java. Like the wayang kulit and lore of the Malay magician, it serves as a reminder that the Malays were once superstitious Hindoos, and that the religion of the Prophet was forced upon a race not wishing for it and unwilling to receive it. Though conquest on the surface wrought a speedy conversion, it was long before the new religion took deep root in the people ; and during the generations immediately following the conquest of Majapahit, the Keris may have acquired its deadful reputation by being an instrument devoted to the purpose of religious vengeance. The curious hilts, originally carved to represent Hindoo divinities, in whose service the Kerises were used, and whose protection they claimed, as the faith of Islam took a stronger hold, became regarded as idolatrous. Keris pasopati ceased to have a recognisable image of Siva on its hilt, and the figures of gods on the hilts being offensive to the Orthodox Moslems were suppressed. Their forms however were not utterly destroyed and the hilts replaced by more serviceable ones, but a compromise with Allah was effected ; the images were defaced and made unrecognisable, while still retaining some faint resemblance to the original figures, and the hilts remained as insecurely fixed as before. In this way the Malays hoped that all offence to Allah and his followers might be removed, and at the same time that the magical powers, acquired by their Kerises from their former Hindoo deities, might be retained unimpaired, in spite of their owners' defection to the religion of their conquerors.

- (a) History of the Indian Archipelago (Crawfurd). British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca (Newbold). Vol. II. p. 392.
- (b) History of Java (Raffles). Vol. I. p. 392.
- (c) History of Java (Raffles). Vol. I. p. 329.
- (d) Royal Asiatic Society Journal (Straits Branch) No. 62. R. O. Winstedt.
- (e) History of Java (Raffles). Vol. II. pp. 53-4. History of the Indian Archipelago (Crawfurd). Vol. II. pp. 206-7.
- (f) British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca (Newbold). Vol. II. pp. 197-8.
- (g) Malay Annals (Leyden). p. 312.
- (h) British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca (Newbold). Vol. II. pp. 202-8.
Malay Magic (Skeat). pp. 529-30.
- (i) Hikayat Hang Tuah.
- (j) British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca (Newbold). Vol. II. p. 200.
- (k) McNair. p. 248.
- (l) History of Java (Raffles). Vol. II. p. 99.
- (m) History of Java (Raffles). Vol. II. p. 146.
- (n) Royal Asiatic Society Journal (Straits Branch) July 1902 C. O. Blagden.
- (o) History of the Peninsula Malays (Wilkinson) p. 28.
- (p) McNair p. 240.
- (q) Malay Magic (Skeat) Appendix, pp. 652-3.
- (r) Malay Magic (Skeat) pp. 85-7 and note.
- (s) Ethnology and Archaeology of Malay Peninsula (Evans) Note 2 p. 48.

Mr. BRADDELL'S ANCIENT TIMES.

By R. O. WINSTEDT.

To Part III of Volume XIV of this Journal Mr. Roland Braddell contributed an industrious "Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula", which should provide useful *data* for competent Indianists.

Mr. Braddell has made great play with a passage from pp. 34, 35 of my *History of Malaya*, where I tried apparently in too condensed a paragraph to deal with the telescoped myths of the *Malay Annals*. For years I practised compression to save our Society printing costs, an example I venture to commend to all contributors.

Mr. Braddell does not boggle at a relationship between Ptolemy's River Palandas and the Malay words *pelandok* or *melanda*, between a 12th century Iskandar Shah and a Skandasisya, a legendary ancestor of Pallava kings. Presumably therefore it cannot be anything but absorption in his theory of Raja Suran's solar descent that makes him so critical of a surmise sponsored by Gerini, Blagden, Rouffaer (whom he has not read), Wilkinson and myself that the story of a war between Raja Suran and Raja Chulan, after which Raja Suran "sailed home to his Kling kingdom", may contain a garbled reference to the Chola raids of the XIth century. The identity of Gangga Negara with Bruas is vouched for not only as Mr. Braddell appears to think, by the *Annals* but by Perak tradition, and is there any reason why a colony of the Gangga Pallavas should not have borne such a name? From Gangga Negara, according to the *Annals* (Shellabear's rom. ed. 1909, vol. I, pp. 11-13), Raja Suran went to conquer Ganggayu, Glangkiu or Lenggiu (all of which variants occur in the MSS.) and then passed to Tumasik (or Singapore).

The fact that the *Malay Annals* are, as I said, "a hotch-potch of myths and traditions" must discredit them as authentic history, however valuable the material their myths may provide for the critical scholar. Though most of the names and myths suggest a late Muslim origin, it is not impossible that research may yet discover the story of Raja Suran to have telescoped the wars of a solar prince into historical Chola raids. Raja Chulan, as Mr. Braddell remarks, ought properly to have been the invader, but five hundred years later, to a Malay who had never heard of the Cholas, Suran and Chulan would be Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Outside the *Annals* Suran is not known, while Chulan is a common figure in Malay folk-lore.

On p. 40 of his article Braddell repeats the old error that the author of the *Malay Annals* was commissioned to write them "at the court of Acheen at a time when that court was at its highest

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ascendancy", whereas on p. 15 of my *History of Johore* I have shown that most old MSS. give as the scene of that commission not Pasai (which in 1612 was certainly not the seat of Acheen's Sultans) but Pasir Raja on the Johore river. That the *Malay Annals* in the form we know them were compiled on that river may account for the identification of Glang Kiu with Lenggiu, one of its tributaries. But even if that identification is erroneous, that seems hardly to justify Mr. Braddell's statement (p. 47) "that there is no such place as Lenggiu at all." He has to admit that it still exists as a river and apparently what he means is that there is no such town or state. There is no town called Perak or Pahang and there would be no such *states*, if the banks of the rivers from which their names are derived, had been unpopulated jungle for centuries, but the names of the rivers would have lasted.

On p. 54 Mr. Braddell writes "unable as we are to read Dutch, we cannot state the reasons which led van der Tuuk to convert Sang Nila Utama into Tilottama". No one could suspect Mr. Braddell of questioning van der Tuuk's philology and van der Tuuk was too profound a scholar to venture a baseless opinion. The reason for that opinion is given by Mr. Braddell himself: several Malay versions of the Sang Sapurba story associate the three names Sapurba, Nila Utama and Baniaka, and van der Tuuk was therefore justified in identifying names so juxtaposed with the common juxtaposition of the names of three famous nymphs of Indra's heaven called Suprabha, Tilottama and Menaka. What seems to have escaped Mr. Braddell is that having met the name Sapurba or possibly the two names Sapurba and Nila Utama in the original text the average Malay scholar who had heard of the three famous nymphs would not hesitate to improve his text by weaving the third name Menaka into the tale. (To his own explanation of *Uttama* Mr. Braddell might have added that the honorific is always applied nowadays to the Governor—*tuan yang terhutama*).

To Leyden's translation of the *Malay Annals* Mr. Braddell attaches the value due to this version of a MS. a century old, but it must not be forgotten that it is an abbreviated version, due either to the use of an imperfect MS. or to impatience with genealogies or to the translator's unfamiliarity with Malay.

On p. 51 Mr. Braddell criticises me for suggesting that the association with Nila Pahlawan, Kisna Pandita and Nila Utama of Bichitram Shah, bearing what looks like a Tamilized-Sanskrit Muslim name, appears to reveal a redundancy, or as I might have said, an interpolation. He then quotes Devic's translation as making Bichitram Shah one of the three sons of Raja Suran by *one* wife, while Nila Pahlawan, Kisna Pandita and Nila Utama are his sons by *another* wife. Moreover on p. 49 he says "By the daughter of Raja Chulan of Glang Kiu, Raja Suran had three sons, *Bichitram Shah*, Palidutani and Nilumanam: by the daughter of the king of the land under the sea, he had also three sons,

Bichitram Shah, Nila Pahlawan and Carna Pandita or Kama Pandita." These dual ancestresses and confused genealogies bear out my suspicion of an interpolation. And the only other way to explain the anachronism of *Bichitram Shah* is to find some Sanskrit equivalent for him such as Mr. Braddell has suggested with less reason for Iskandar Shah.

"The sea of Silbou" (p. 49) is merely *laut sëlëbu* "great Ocean."

It is curious that (p. 10) Mr. Braddell speaks of my "relying principally upon current Dutch views" for the Hindu period, when apart from the indispensable Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis of Dr. Krom almost all the authorities for that period given in the Bibliography for the relevant chapter (II) of my *History* are English, French and Indian.

A SHORT VOCABULARY OF THE BANGGI AND BAJAU LANGUAGE.

By W. F. SCHNEEBERGER, D.Sc.

As far as I know, there has never been published a vocabulary of the Banggi language and the Bajau dialect spoken in North Borneo. In Owen Rutter's *Comparative Vocabulary* (Appendix to *The Pagans of North Borneo*) Banggi is not given.

This list of words was compiled during a two years stay in North Borneo. It is far from being comprehensive, nevertheless I consider it necessary to publish it in its present state as a base for further investigation, which may throw some light on the problem of the origin of the Banggi people and their relation to the Dusun tribes on the mainland and the hill tribes on the adjacent islands Balabac and Palawan.

Banggi Island is situated N. of the northernmost part of Borneo (Bengkoka Peninsula) and separated from the mainland by the approximately 7 miles wide South Banggi Channel and from Balabac, the southernmost island of the Phillipine Archipelago, by the 43 miles wide Balabac Strait. It comprises an area of approximately 98,700 acres and has an irregular topography with numerous hills and ranges, which culminate in the 1,880 feet high Banggi Peak or Sinambong in the north-west. The greatest part of the island is covered by jungle, the cultivated area comprising not more than 0.02 per cent of the total area of the island.

The Banggi Dusun, numbering probably about 1,000 people, live in small semi-permanent kampongs or temporary clearings scattered all over the island. There are at present 12 villages *i.e.* Limbuak, Pangkalan, Kalangkaman, Lok Bahu, Kapitangan, Sibumbung, Ipil, Sabur, Mamang, Laksian, Kubung and Layak-Layak.

In 1932 a disastrous typhoon struck the northern part of Banggi and the adjacent island Balambangan, destroyed the jungle and a number of kampongs and forced the people to emigrate to the southern part of the island (Kubung and Layak-Layak are new settlements, founded after the typhoon catastrophe) or to Kudat peninsula (Tg. Kapor and Pengaraban). The population is decreasing rapidly through emigration, especially from the kampongs Kapitangan and Sibumbung.

On the island Balambangan, which is separated from Banggi by a strait 3 miles wide, a few families of Banggi Dusun have lived for some generations. Within this relative short time they have developed a particular dialect. A comparative study of these two dialects would be interesting from a linguistic point of view.

Ubian (immigrants from the Philippine Islands) and Bajau (or Orang Laut) are settled in a few small kampongs along the N. and W. coast of Banggi and on Balambangan Island, whereas the sheltered water around the small islands S. of Banggi is the realm of nomadic Bajau, who have a dialect of their own and quite different from the dialect spoken by the settled Bajau from whom we collected this list.

Comparing our list of words with Rutter's Comparative Vocabulary we find that the Banggi language has 40 per cent. of words common with the other Pagan dialects (most of them are Indonesian, such as *aso*, *bitudn*, *odu*), only 12% are Malay and 48% are Banggi proper. For the Bajau the respective figures are : common with Pagan dialects or common Indonesian 45%, Malay 21% and Bajau proper 34%.

Both languages show a number of phonetic changes caused by idiosyncrasies of pronunciation. The Bajau consequently changes *l* into *r* (*lahir-rahir*, *langgar-ranggar*, *ludah-rudah*), *a* into *o* (*kaya-koyo*, *biasa-bioso*, *lada-lodo*, *sama-somo*), *ch* into *s* (*benchi-bensi*, *chaching-sasing*) and replaces the *r* in the middle of a word by *h* (*baru-bahau*, *lari-rahai*, *turut-ruhut*). The most particular fact in the Banggi language is the strong idiosyncrasy against the consonant *p*, which is always pronounced as *f* (*api-afi*, *dapur-defor*, *děpa-děfa*, *kapas-kafas*, *pulau-furu*). There is also a tendency to replace *k* by the soft *h* (*bakul-bahul*, *katak hatak*, *laku-lahu*, *makan-mohodn*) and *b* by *w* (*babi-bawi*, *tebu-touw*, *tuba-tuwa*).

The use of the consonant *f* instead of *p* is, as far as I know, prevalent on the islands E. of Celebes and as far as New Guinea but is unknown in Borneo.

In the ultimate syllable of words as *bitudn*, *sinsign*, *idādn* the consonant *d* or *g* is very difficult to recognize, but is always pronounced. It would be better to write it *bitu(d)n*, *sinsi(g)n*, *idā(d)n*.

I hope that this list will contribute to the knowledge of a very little known tribe. A comprehensive study of the Banggi language should be completed before it is too late.

Malay.

Bajan.

Banggi.

A

abang
 abu
 abuk
 ada
 „ , tidak
 adat
 „ , dahulu
 „ , tahu
 „ , mēlanggar
 adik
 „ jantan
 „ pērapuan
 adik — bēradik
 aer
 „ tawar
 „ masin
 „ bah
 agas
 akar (root, creeper)
 aku
 ambil
 ambun
 anai — anai
 anak
 „ jantan
 „ pērapuan
 angin
 „ ribut
 angkat
 anjing
 antar
 antara
 apa
 „ itu
 api
 arang
 arti
 asah
 asahan, batu
 asal
 asam
 asap
 atap
 atur
 awal
 awan
 ayam

sioko
 abu
 abuk
 run
 nya run
 adat
 „ sipua
 sadar adat
 ēngērangar adat
 adik, siari
 siari dēlah
 „ dēndo
 bēdinakan
 bohe
 „ ringin
 „ masin
 „ liud
 agas
 gamud
 aku
 ēngundo
 ambun
 anai
 anak
 „ dēlah
 „ dēndo
 briu
 daras briu
 nangkat
 wa
 ēndede
 sēlangan
 yen
 yen eh
 api
 orong
 rati
 ēngasak
 batu asaan
 asal
 lēsom
 umbu
 sopou
 aturun
 sēnsaung
 awan
 manuk

kaha
 awu
 dodok
 chara
 ēndara
 adat
 „ fuh
 fandi adat
 ēngēlangar adat
 fusud
 fusud lahi
 fusud liwun
 songofusud
 beig
 „ mēramit
 „ bēgesin
 „ liud
 agas
 fahat, brān
 ou
 ēngai
 ambun
 āni
 anak
 „ lahi
 „ liwun
 dodos
 „ dolok
 nangat
 āsu
 ēngatad
 silang
 onuh
 onuh ino
 afi
 adang
 karāti
 ēngansa
 batu asaān
 asal (?)
 monsom
 goudn
 safu
 ēngātur
 rēji odu
 awan
 manuk

*Malay.**Bajau.**Banggi.***B**

babi	bakas	bawi
badak	badak	badak
badan	buhu	tuni
bagaimana	pyen	funggama
bagi (to divide, to give)	binagi, magi	bagi, mori
bagus	ahap	ěmpia
bahagian	bagien	bagien
bahaya	bahaya	bahaya
bahu	buh	owu
baik	ahap	ěmpia
baju	badu	baju
bakar	nunuh	nutugn
bakau	bongkau	fanggang
bakul	raga	bahul
balas	mohos	malas
balik	bělibu	malik
bambu	boh	tōrign
bangau	bongou	bāngu
bangsa	bongso	bangsa
bangun (to awake, to rise)	bangun, bundu	kětiak, murugn
banir	sisik	sisik
bantal	bantal	kurungguru
banyak	iko	ěmběram
bapa	mak	ama
barang	barang	mědodn
barat	barat	bārd
baring	běsading	sěmarik
barong	bidah	kifing
baru	bahau	bāru
basah	baseh	ěmbasah
batu	batu	batu
bau	boho	sodong
bawa	moh	ěnggāđ
bayam	bayam	bayam
bayang	ahong	kanggalag
bayar	mayad	miar
bědak	bědak	bědak
bědiri	měntou	musag
běkas	boi	buēs
bělah	mila	mělak
bělalang	tuka	tuhak
bělanja	běranja	běranja
bělayar	lamak	lěmiag
běli	měli	moli
bělian (pawang)	bělian	bělian

*Malay.**Bajan.**Banggi.***B**—*contd.*

bělom
 „ lagi
 bělom makan
 bēnar
 bēnchi
 bengkok
 bēnua
 berak
 bērangkat
 bērangkali
 bērani
 bērapa
 bēras
 bērat
 bērhenti
 berhi
 bērnang
 bēruang
 bēsar
 bēsi
 besok
 bētul
 biasa
 biawak
 bibir

bibit
 bichara
 bidan
 biji
 bila
 bilang
 bini
 bintang
 biru
 bising
 bisul
 bochor
 bodoh
 boleh
 botol
 buah
 buang
 bubuh
 bubuk
 bubut

boi
 nya lagi
 nya lagi boi mangan
 banah
 bansi
 bengkok
 lahad
 burik tai
 bēpinda
 bangkali
 bani
 dongui
 buas
 buhat
 bēranti
 magi
 rumangi
 bāruang
 oyo
 bēsi
 sēmaung
 banah
 bioso
 pahang
 sidibua

bibit
 bisoro
 ungguling
 lisu
 sēmberan
 mara
 ēndoh
 bintang
 biru
 ingor
 sēlimbubut
 lēsu, ēnguman
 buduh
 boleh
 butur
 buak
 niman
 bubuh
 mubur
 lēmbat

bobes
 ēndafo
 ēnda bobēs nyohon
 bār
 mendātadn
 tihung
 bunua
 mēngki tumoi
 ēnggindur
 tēgō
 ēmbāni
 fida
 ogas
 mogat
 tēmalang
 mori
 lēmungi
 baruang
 midia
 bosī
 sūb
 bār
 muwas
 mēnjatan
 munung (upper lip)
 onsibobok (under lip)
 bibit
 ēngguhun
 sēmafang
 linsag
 nifa
 moro
 sāh
 bitūdñ
 biru
 boros
 busul
 ēntawan
 kēlounḡ
 boleh
 trahus
 buak
 ēngondi
 bubuh
 mēlubugn
 nolu

*Malay.**Bajau.**Banggi.***B**—*contd.*

budak	bėranak	bėranak
bujang (male, female)	busang	kanahan, umai
buka	muka	tinggiwa
bukit	bėlud	buid
buku (knot)	simpol	bũl
bulan	buan	buaitn
bulat	buntar	bilug
bulu	buh	bubul
bunga	sumping	budak
bungkus		
(with cloth)	kuntil	pusut
(with leaves)	mungkus	mutus
bunting	bėtong	ėntogi
buntut	ingko	ifus
buritan	buli	muri
burong	manok-manok	bohed
buruk	buhuk	mutang
buta	buto	bulag
butu	boto	utin

C

chabai	lodo	lāda
chabang	singo	sanga
chabut	mubut	mintut
chaching	sasing	lingguang
chahaya	sahaya	sāru
chahari	mėriga	ėniyrum
chakap	bėtutur	ėnsisquad
champur	bėkrungun	ėmpėtimung
changkir	sangkir	sangkir
chantik	ahap	ėmpia
chatu	labu	mėndawu
chelaka	rāt	dod
chelana	sėruar	sėruar
chėmpedak	dėbadak	dėbadak
cherita	bėtutur	ėnsisquad
china	sina	china
chinchin	sinsim	sinsign
chinta	bėbesan	bėmutahan
chium (to smell)	ėngguruk	ėnggadak
(to kiss)	ėnguruk	ėngadak
chobah	ėnginam	ėnginam
chuchi	ėngoseh	masak
chuchu	dudu	dudu
chukup	sukup	suhup
churi	nungkou	nahu

Malay.

Bajau.

Banggi.

D

dada	tarakan	kūb
dadu	dadu	dadu
dagang	dagang	dagang
daging	daging	onsi
dagu	rangar	sangat
dahan	singo	sanga
dahulu	duhu	igulu
dalam	lolom	ēndālam
damar	song	salang
dan	dan	mak
dapat	koleh	ēngkap
dapur	dapur	dēforn
dara, anak - -	busang	umai
darah	raha	rāh
darat	dērio	dia
dari	mēn	dā
„ sana	mēnurik	dādi
datang	dēko	miātang
daun	sirai	doudn
dayong	dayung	diougn
dēkat	sikot	mingat
dēlima	dēlima	dēlima
dēmam	ēngērmun	dēmodop
dēnda	dēnda	dēnda
dengar	kale	kidongor
dēngki	dēngki	ēngumbuk
dēpa	dēpo	dēfa
dēpan	aropan	tingguangan
dēras	daras	solok
diatas	tiatak	kilibuat
dibawah	tēdia	kisidung
diblakang	tēbukut	kiligud
didalam	tēdiom	kisoid
dikanan	tēkuanan	kikuan
dikiri	tēkibang	kuikiwang
diluar	tēruar	kikluasan
dimana	minggumban	mēnihan
dimuka	tēaropan	tingguangan
disana	murik	kūi
disini	mitu	katik
dia	sigei	kui
diam (to stay)	baranti	tēmalang
(to be silent)	romod	romud
dinding	dinding	dinding
dingin	tēnéh	rāmig
diri	diri	deri
dosa	dosa	dusa

*Malay.**Bajau.**Banggi.***D**—*contd.*

duduk
duit
dukun
dulang
dunia
duri
durian
dusun

ningkou
duit
bidan
dulang
dunia
iting
durian
idaan

mufung
kiarasin
funguru
sulang
dunia
susuk
pintūdn
idādn

E

emas
ěntah

mas
tau

amas
tawa

G

gadung
gagah
gagang
gajah
galang
gali
ganti
gantong
garam
garang
garok
gasing
gatal
gayong
gěbang
gėlap
gėli
gěmbar
gěrhana

gadung
daras
tikok
gajah
gėlang
ěngali
ěngganti
ěnggantong
timus
bani
ěngkoyou
gasing
gotol
gayong
gabang
lohom
gali
gombor
gěrhana
buan rěnahu

gadugn
ěngsok
ulu
gajah
golong
ěngali
ěnganti
mitin
timus
ěmbāni
nuhud
gasing
ěnggatal
diougn
tuhar
tuagn
karanggaman
afid
rou

(moon ecl.)

gětah
gigi
gigit
gila
gobang
goreng
gosok
gula
gulai
guling
gulong

(to wind up)
(to coil)
(to wrap)

guna
gunong

gětak
impon
neket
bilolan
bagung
ěngureng
ěngasak
saka
gulei
buguling
ěnggulung
ěngoleng
mungkus
buguno
bėlud

dagak
kuhud
nohol
mingi
boun
ěngrěndang
ěngansak
gula
runtak
—
ěngulign
ěngulign
musud
kiguna
buid

Malay.

Bajau.

Banggi.

H

habis
hak
haluan
halus
hampir
hantu
harap (to trust)
to expect)

harga
hari
harta
harus
hasil
hati
haus
heran
hidong
hidup
hilang
hilir, di -
hitam
hitong
hormat

hutan (virgin
jungle)
old secon-
dary jungle)
(young secon-
dary jungle)

abis
songot
munda
alus
sikot
sēmangat
arap
ēngagad
orgoni
ēlou
barang
sēlog
jakat
otoi
toho kēlong
eran
urung
lum
rungai
tēdi laut
irom
nyiro
sējud

imbaan
taun
taras

inabis
umus
dulung
alus
mingat
kuang
mēngarap
ēnggaid
raga
odu
hērtā
solog
faid
ati
ēntug tigoro
kibunggang
idung
biag
mēntedn
kui suak
modom
nyap
ēnsalam

gobak
toidn
tras

I

ikan
ikat
ikut
ingat
ini
ini hari
isap
isi
itu
iyu

daeng
ēngingkot
nuhut
tintam
itu
ēlou itu
nēsop
isi
eh
ihu

sadak
nigad
miāg
gintam
ēnti
oruntī
nunsup
onsi
ino
kērtādn

J

jadi
jaga
jagong
jahat
jala

dadi
jogo
gandum
rād
rambat

ēndādi
jaga
gāndum
ēndod
rambat

*Malay.**Bajau.**Banggi.***J—contd.**

jalan	lëman	ëmpāno
jamban	jamban	keteādn
jambu	biabas	biabas
jang	dong	dei
janggal	dëko	dangan
janggut	janggut	janggut
jantan	dëlah	lahi
jantong	jantong	pusu
jari	tëmboro	tinduru
jaring	jaring	jôrdn
jarum	jarum	jarum
jatoh	labu	ëndabu
jau	tio	moduk
jabat	soled	sëmbeid
jendela	sendela	pintu
jërne	jërani, tëlak	ëngkatu
jinak	imon	mëruhum
jual	bënëbëlian	ifuboli

K

kachang	kasang	bëlatong
kachau	kasau	sawul
kail (wood)	koet	keit
(iron)	arit	—
kain	dikat	kumut
kajang	sopou	safu
kaki	bëtis	uei
kala	kala	inala
kalong	kobog	monggot
ka mana	pinggu	bihān
kamari	pitu	kanditi
kamarin	dilou	hirab
kamarin dulu	banggi dilou	kasing hirab
kambang	mërangkak	ëngubara
kambing	kambing	kambing
kami	kami	ih
kampung	lahad	bunua
kamu	kou	uhu
kandang	kurungan	kandang
kandas	sëmëlad	kësārd
kapak	kapak	kafak
kapang	kapang	kafang
kapas	kapas	kafas
kapur	apoh	afug
karam	buhou	ëntagobn
karang	karang	karang
kasar	begal	ëmbagal
kasau	kosou	kasu

*Malay.**Bajan.**Banggi.***K**—*contd.*

kasih
 katak
 kawan
 kawin
 kaya
 kayu
 kěchil
 kělap
 kělapa
 kěmarau
 kěnchang
 kenching
 kenyang
 kěpala
 kěrap kali
 kěras
 kěrbau
 kěring
 kěris
 keruh
 kětimon
 kima
 kipas
 kira
 kirai
 kirim
 kita
 korek
 kosong
 kota
 kotak
 kotor
 kualala
 kualila
 kuasa
 kuat
 kuching
 kudis
 kuku
 kulit
 kuning
 kupas
 kurang
 kurap
 kurus

muan
 katak
 sehe
 kawin
 koyo
 kayu
 tiki
 lohóm
 soka
 pěngarau
 kundur
 mange
 osok
 tikok
 sělalú
 kěras
 krabau
 toho
 karis
 gabut
 timun
 kimo
 lepet
 nyiro
 kirai
 mebea
 sěku
 ěngakei
 nya run isi
 kuta
 kutak
 kamah
 bua suang
 kualila
 kuasa
 daras
 miou
 kuris
 kuku
 kubal
 kumit
 ěngulit
 kurang
 kurap
 usuk

mori
 hatak
 fangan
 ěngkoitn
 kaya
 kiau
 toyok
 tuang
 piasu
 pěngaru
 muluag
 simidu
 ěmbiak
 ulu
 kělaman
 ěngkotul
 krabau
 ěngkorign
 karis
 robor
 sangup
 kima
 kiab
 nyap
 doudn
 ěmpid
 sěsia
 nāfu
 ěndara suga
 kuta
 kutak
 damak
 bobo sungi
 kualila
 sompu
 ěngosok
 using
 puri
 sindoidn
 kubal
 kuid
 ěngumpas
 kuragn
 buhāt
 ěntuhal

Malay.

Bajau.

Banggi.

L

ladang
lagi
lahir
lain
laju
lakas
laki
laku
lalang
lalat
lama
lambat
lampit
langgar
langit
lantai
lantak
lapar
larang
lari
laut
lawan
layar
lēbah
lebar
leher
lēmbu
lēmbut
lēpas
lēsong
liat
lichin
lidah
lilin
limau
lindong
lipat
lobang
lomba-lomba
ludah
luka
lumbung
lumut
lunas
lurus
lupa

umu
lagi
rahir
sēdiri
lingou
lingou
lahi
laku
padang
longou
ēndang
bētah
bidei
ranggar
langit
dasar
lolontok
lingantu
rarang
lahai
dilaut
ēngēloan
lamak
daras
lambu
kēlong
sapi
lēmah
lēpah
insungan
ēngēndah
ēngulud
dēla
lilin
limau
lindong
ēngēlipat
kērombang
bung
rudah
bakad
lagu
lumut
lunas
lantas
lupo

umah
duga
ēmpisik
leidn
ēndurug
ēntanggas
sāna
lahu
kutād
frangad
mula
mēleid
budas
ranggar
langit
dātag
māfak
mudafādn
ēngararang
mērari
loud
lēmon
liag
ēnsafag
mēlimbag
tigoru
safi
mēlumak
kahas
osung
ēngkid
rindag
dila
tāru
onsom
mindong
ēngēlifat
gougu
ubung
ilab
damat
antip
dungit
lunas
ēntifad
kēlifad

*Malay.**Bajau.**Banggi.***M**

mahal
 mahu
 main
 maju
 makan
 maki
 makin . . makin
 malam
 malang
 malas
 malu
 mama
 manching
 mandi
 mangga
 manik
 manis
 manusia
 marah
 marak
 mari
 masak (to cook)
 (ripe)
 masi
 masok
 mata
 mata hari
 mati
 mēntah
 merah
 milir
 mimpi
 minggu
 minta
 minum
 minyak
 miskin
 muda
 muka
 mulai
 mulut
 mundur
 mungkir
 musoh

mahal
 kuhi
 bēragam
 bēsorong
 mangan
 numpa
 mangkin . . mangkin
 songom
 bēbabag
 malas
 maluk
 nek
 ēngambur, mēsi
 mandi
 ēmpalam
 manik
 mamis
 jēmo
 ēngdolek
 kiat
 pitu
 mapi
 totoi
 masi
 posok
 moto
 moto lou, ēlou
 motoi
 matak
 darag
 bēlua
 ēngūpi
 minggu
 maku
 ēnginum
 ēnsēlan
 miskin
 mura
 ruo
 limpon
 bua
 bēsuhud
 mungkir
 sibunoh

māl
 mou
 gēlingas
 sēmurung
 mohodn
 nimbuat
 mahidn . . mahidn
 raobi
 gabak
 kabul
 mēlou
 indu
 mosi
 monsu
 palam
 manas
 momis
 lāma
 ēnggarampus
 mabag
 kan
 ēnggafi
 entog
 kahal
 simuak
 māta
 māta odu, odu
 māti
 mēntak
 ēnsēgak
 ēnsua
 ēnggēnifi
 minggu
 kibori
 ēnginum
 lāna
 miskin
 mulak
 rua
 ēmpuh
 bobok
 sutak
 mangkir
 ēmbunoh

N

nafsu
 naga

napsu
 naga

yiag
 inaga

Malay.

Bajau

Banggi.

N—contd.

naik	měnaik	sěmblahi
nakal	nakal	nahal
nama	oron	ěngārdn
nampak	ěngito	ěngkid
nanas	pranggi	franggi
nangka	nangka	nangga
nanti	ěngagat	ěngait
napas	napas	intang
nasi	buas	ogas
nenek	ěmbo	afu
nipah	tuhug	foung
nipis	nipis	měnifis
nyamuk	namuk	tonok
nyawa	nyawa	nyawa

O

ombak	goyak	gumbang
orang	jemo	lāma
„ jantan	dělah	lahi
„ pěrampuan	děndo	liwun
orang tua (chief)	měntěto	mětua

P

padam	pěda	ěmpuda
padang	padang	fadang
padi	poroi	fādi
pagar	pagar	fagar
pagi	sěnsoung	rěji oudu
paha	poh	fah
pahit	pait	ěmpeit
pakai	makai	mahi
pakat	upakat	ěnggufahat
panas	panas	ěmfanas
panching	běsi	fosi
pandai	pandai	fandi
panggang	nunuh	nunuk
panggil	manggil	manggil
panjang	taha	mělanggu
panjat	měnaik	nidahat
pantai	ungus	fasik
pantang	pantang	ěidn
pantat	buli	bitang
parang	badik	bādik
pari, ikan -	pahai	foi
pasang, aer -	gabak	rüb
patah	opo	ikotop
patut	patut	fatut
paya (swamp)	ranau	ěrnah

*Malay.**Bajan**Banggi***P**—*contd.*

pēduli
 pēlahan
 pēlita
 pēmatang
 pēmikiran
 pēnat
 pendek
 pēnyu
 pērampuan
 pērchaya
 pērgi
 pērigi
 pērkakas
 pērkara
 pērnah
 pērut
 pētang
 pēti
 pēliara
 picha
 pichit (to pinch)
 (to squeeze)
 pikir
 pili
 pinang
 pinchang
 pindah
 pinggang
 pinggir
 pinjam
 pintar
 pintu
 pirau
 piring
 pisang
 pisau
 pohon
 potong
 prau
 puas
 puki
 pukul
 pulang
 pulau
 pulut
 punai
 punya

pēdulan
 pēlan-pēlan
 pēlitaan
 lēngon bēlud
 pikiran
 malek
 pondok
 poko
 dēndo
 pēsoyo
 puri
 tēlaga
 pēkakas
 pērkara
 boi no
 mētong
 kohap
 kaban
 nipat
 bila
 ēngobet
 pisit
 pikir
 mene
 pinang
 pingka
 pindah
 pangkat
 sēdih
 ēngindam
 pintar
 pintu
 pirau
 sahan
 saging
 pisau
 pon
 ēngopo
 biduk
 puas
 puki
 mobog
 mole
 pulau
 mērgod
 punai
 ampon

madul
 unda-undā
 fēlita
 inuluh
 fikiern
 nufugn
 puhu
 fonyu
 liwun
 mēsia
 kēmēndi
 tēlāga
 pēkahas
 pērhiara
 fasnē
 tiagn
 jibidn
 kawan
 miag
 ēmbala
 ēnguert
 ēngomok
 muhir
 mili
 lugus
 timpang
 ēnggindur
 ok
 bing
 molos
 ēmpintar
 luangan
 mirau
 leap
 funti
 fēis
 fūdn
 kētofo
 oi
 puas
 puhi
 numbuk
 muli
 furu
 mērogod
 puni
 sompu

*Malay.**Bajau**Banggi.***P—contd.**

pupu
pusat
pusing
puteh

běkaki
ponsot
pusing
poteh

pinsan
pusut
mintiung
ěmputih

R

rabong
rachun
rajin
rakit
ramai
rambat
rambut
rantai
rapat
rasa
rata
raun
rěbah
rěbus
rěndah
rengas
ribut
ringen
rotan
rugi
rumah
rumpot
rupa

rabong
rasun
tėgor
rakit
ramai
rambat
buhtikok
rantai
rimpot
roso
roto
ěngěraun
bah
ěngělaga
diah
rěngas
ribut
lampong
buei
rugi
rumah
rumpot
ruo

lifungan
rasun
ěntogom
rahit
ramai
rambat
obuk
ranti
rafat
rasa
fantai
ěngěroutn
rěbak
mėlogob
měsidung
ganas
boros
měrangan
saha
rugi
bāli
rihut
rua

S

sabong
sadak
sagu
sahut
saja
sakit
salah
sama
samak
sambong
sampai
„ mana
sampan
sangka
sasar
saya (see aku)
sayang

běsabong
kurik
ěmbung
naul
jo
pědihan
salah
somo
sěmpot
nambong
ingkat
ingat minggu
bagung
sangka
rungai

sayang

běsawong
kurik
natak
mabad
gah
sahit
salak
sāma
gofud
ěngofud
ěntian
ěntian difat
boun
sangka
ěnterdn

rubat

*Malay.**Bajau.**Banggi.***S**—*contd.*

sayap
sayur
sedia
sedikit
sejuk
semangat
senang
sendiri
sendok (rice spoon)
(small spoon)
siang (midday)
(day)
siapa
" itu
siapa punya
sobat
sombong
suara
sudah
suka
suku
sulap
suling
sumpah
sumpitan
sungei
sunyi
surat
surut
susah
susu
susun

pipik
gulai
sedio
dikit
sejuk
umagad
sanang
dendangan
sanduk
sudu
tengah-lou
elou
sian
sian eh
sian ampon
sehe
sombong
suoro
lepas
ingin
suku
suap
suling
besumpah
seputan
suang
sunyi
surat
rang
susah
susu
susun

koh
runtak
sedia
entoyok
ramik
midua
sanang
deri
sonduk
sudu
teng-odu
odu
asi
asi ino
asi sompu
ibal
tembou
derodn
besne
mengin
suhu
lundung
sulign
numpa
sepuhan
sungi
romud
suart
rang
susah
dudu
nusudn

T

tabak
tadi
tahan
tahu
tahun
tajam
tajau
takut
talam
tali
tambah
tanah
tanam

ihak
insini
tahan
sadar
taun
torom
kibut
tinou
talam
tali
tambah
tanah
nonom

muntal
kina
nan
fandi
toudn
entaram
kibut
molok
talam
tali
tisonop
tānah
nanam

Malay.

Bajau.

Banggi.

T—contd.

tanda	tanda	nanda
tandang	nipak	nifak
tandok	tandok	tandok
tangan	tangan	fī
tangga	odon	tuhad
tangis	nangis	tēmeis
tanjong	torong	tompok
tarik	nārik	nēriak
taroh	nagu	naru
tawar	nawar	nawar
tēbal	kapal	ēngkafal
tēbang	nēbong	nowong
tēbas	ririk	lēmirik
tēbing	timbang	uwang
tēbu	gēlaga	touwu
tēlanjang	nantang	kēlawas
tēlanjur	ēngkēlandu	ilēnduan
tembak	nimbak	nimbak
tembus	lēpas	gēlafus
tēmpat	ēmban	tontong
tēmu	sētēmu	inēgtomu
tengah	tengah	tētengah
tenggiling	tenggiling	tenggiling
tēntu	tantu	taontu
tēpong	tēpong	tiofugn
tērang	tarang	ēntēlak
tērap	tarap	madagn
tērbang	lēmiang	lampad
tērima	tērimo	tērima
tērjun	lumpat	tufa
tērong	tarong	talugn
tērus	tērus	tarus
tiang	tiang	bansuk
tiap	tiap	tiap
tidak	nyak	ēndak
tidur	turi	modop
tidurkan	pēlimpang	milang
tikam	nambe	musuk
tikar	bēlēd	sarak
tikus	manti	sihud
tilam	tilam	tiulabm
timah	timah	tingga
timba	sait	neid
timbang	nimbang	nimbagn
timbul	pēlantung	lumofung
timur	timor	timor
tinggal	tēmban	ēntētak

*Malay.**Bajan.**Banggi.***T**—*contd.*

tinggi	langkah	mělibuat
tingkap	tindila	ringgabān
tipu	nipu	nifu
tiram	tigom	tigabm
tiri	tiri	tiri
tohor	těbahan	měrimbu
tolak	tuakun	tulaha
tongkat	tungkat	tunggat
tua	to	ěntua
tuang	nuang	nugus
tuba	tibou	tuwa
tugal	nugal	nasak
tukar (to change)	ěngganti	ěnggěanti
„ (to exchange)	běsambi	bětuhar
tulang	bokog	tulagn
tuli	pěntenggor	bongol
tulis	nulis	nulis
tulong	nulung	nulugn
tumpah	těmuang	ibus
tumpang	numpang	nyumpang
tunang	tunang	uguei
tunda	bětonda	tiunda
tunggu	ěnggad	ěnggait
tunggul	tunggur	tudn
tunu	nunu	nutugn
tupai	běsing	tufi
turun	duei	lumuak
turut	nuhut	miā
tutup	nutup	nutup

U

ubah	minda	minda
ubat	toas	uru
ubi kayu	ubi kayu	selikiau
„ rambat	ubi	silak
ubur-ubur	ubar	ubar
udang (shrimp)	siar	siar
„ (prawn)	udang	fosik
ujan	uran	dōlok
ujong	torong	ontuk
ukir	ukir	butik
ukur	lukud	nuhur
ular	so	ulagn
ulat	kiuk	kiuk
ulu, di -	tědrio	diā
umbut	umbut	ufak
umur	umur	umur

*Malay.**Bajan.**Banggi.***U—contd.**

untung
upah
urat
urus
urut
utang

untung
sukai
uhat
simpan
pisit
utang

untugn
suhai
uart
nimpan
mosol
utagn

W

wangi

wangi

wangi

Y

ya

aha

ā

satu

isa

isa

dua

duo

dua

tiga

tělu

taolu

empat

ěmpat

afad

lima

limo

lima

anam

ěnom

onom

tuju

pitu

turu

dělanpan

uwau

walu

sembilan

siam

siabm

sěpuluh

sěpuh

fuluh

sěbělas

sěpuh dikau

fuluh isa

duabělas

sepuh duo

fuluh dua

duapuluh

duom puh

duom fuluh

tigapuluh

tělum puh

taolum fuluh

sěratus

datus

matus



